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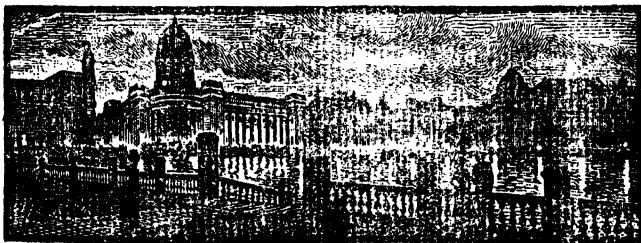












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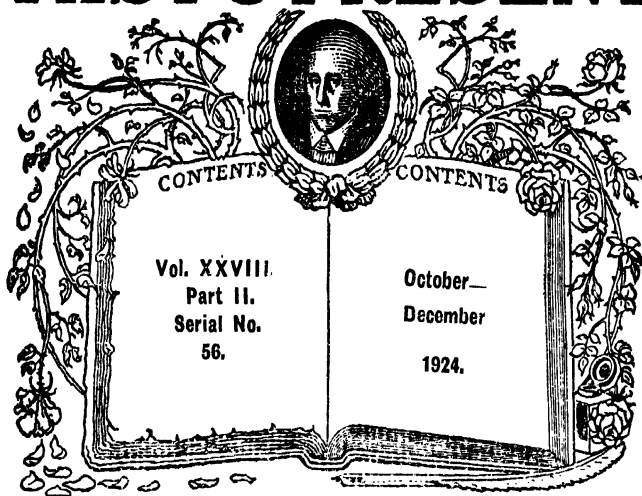
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# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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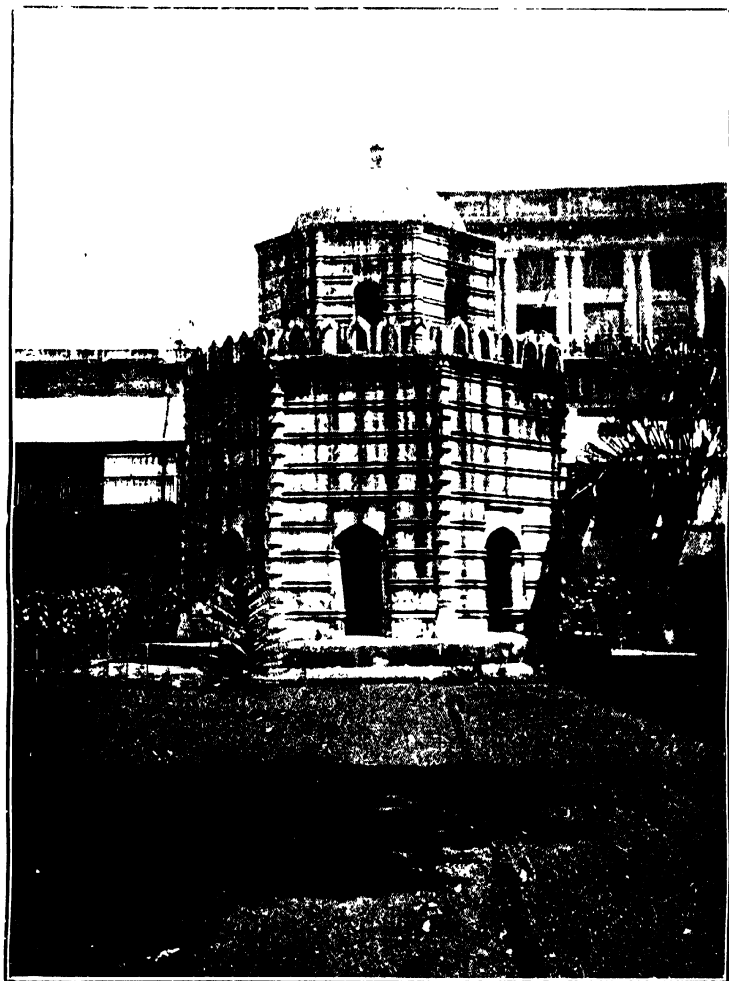
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THE CHARNOCK MAUSOLEUM IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD.



## The Society and its Journal.

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[The Society has been honoured by a long and appreciative article upon its work in *The Times Literary Supplement* for September 18, 1924. By the courteous permission of the Editor, we are enabled to reproduce it below.]

**S**EVENTEEN years ago the Calcutta Historical Society was founded at a meeting in the Town Hall presided over by the Chief Justice of Bengal (Sir Francis Maclean). From the first the society received influential support from Indians as well as from Englishmen. It gathered together all who who took interest in the past, archæological, anthropological, artistic, historical. Its first result was the issue of a magazine, edited by the Rev. W. K. Firminger (later Archdeacon of Calcutta), entitled *Bengal Past and Present*, which has now reached its twenty-seventh volume. The magazine has had its vicissitudes: at one time it ceased publication; it was believed in 1907 that the society would either be amalgamated with the Asiatic Society or dissolved; Number 14 would be the last number of the magazine. But eminent Indians and Englishmen combined to reorganize the society; and by March 1914, it was well on its legs again. Lawyers and priests, soldiers and pundits were at one in desiring the continuance of a valuable means of investigating and popularizing historical matters; and now "Serial No. 54" has appeared, carrying the work up to June of the present year. The volumes are a fascinating record of the interests, achievements, tragedies, personalities, humours of the three hundred years during which English folk have been known in Bengal.

The historical associations of Calcutta are full of interest and romance; and from that city, so long our Imperial capital in the East, romance and interest radiate through Bengal. Budh-Gya and Barrackpore, Dacca and Darjeeling, are names which suggest the width and diversity of the interest. Clive and Warren Hastings and Wellesley, Mme. Grand and Rose Aylmer, Thackeray and old Job Charnock, may stand for representatives of the different aspects of the romance. Nor is the interest, still less the romance, of *Bengal Past and Present* restricted to the days of English acquisition and English rule. As Indian scholars have become more and more devoted to the study of the past of their country, discoveries of great importance have been made and light has been thrown upon many dark places and forgotten times. When first the Calcutta Historical Society was founded Lord Curzon especially hoped for the co-operation of Indian gentlemen. He had found, he said, that "in many cases the Indian intellect possessed a remarkable aptitude for historical, antiquarian, or topographical research; and, living always in the country, they enjoy advantages not open to birds of passage like the majority of Englishmen."

The hope has been fulfilled, and, with the friendliest co-operation between the two nations, the future of the Society devoted to the study of Bengal history is assured. At the same time, much more support for its good work should be obtained from England. Those who subscribe to *Bengal Past and Present* may be assured that they will amply repaid.

It may well be that the majority of those who turn over these volumes will dwell less upon the Kings of Orient, Hindu or Mahomedan, the Wazirs and the generals, the Begums and their guardians, than upon the Englishmen and Scotsmen and Irishmen who made Bengal, for however short a time, their home. Theirs is indeed an absorbing history, in which pathos and enterprise appear on every page. And when we turn over the leaves of the substantial volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* we are reminded of how much more remains still in private hands. Family records, very many no doubt still unpublished, contain notices of the adventures of such men, soldiers and sailors, physicians and clergymen. Such, for example, are to be found in some interesting extracts from the papers of the Swinton family, privately printed some years ago by Mrs. Campbell Swinton, of Kimmerghame. Tales of the doings of Archibald Swinton (born 1731), a surgeon in the Company's service, show him serving in "the Negraio," east of Bengal, in what was then the kingdom of Ava, in 1755, and later on the coast of Orissa under the direction of Clive; and he wrote a capital "Narrative of the Disputes subsisting between the Dutch and the English in Bengal in 1759," which might be worth the attention of the Calcutta Historical Society. Very sharp fighting is described by this intelligent eye-witness, when "true British spirit was manifested on this occasion, notwithstanding the inequality." He soon felt himself better fitted for the sword than the scalpel, and became an active soldier. He took part in the Bengal campaigns of Clive, of which he kept a careful journal, leading up to a fascinating "account of our party at Patna attackning the city the 25th June, 1763," with details, by Ensign McKay, of the imprisonment of the captives, and mentions of Somroo, that romantic person, of mutton curry, and Armenians, and skilful thefts of rupees, and "country spirit for us to drink of," and washerwomen, and "bungelos" full of "buggs and muskittas," and all the other familiar incidents of Indian life. Then the end of the English prisoners: Ellis and Lushington—Lushington a survivor of the Black Hole and a sharer in the cheating of Omichand—invited to sup by Somroo (whom they call Somers) and asked "to lend him their knives and forks in order that he might entertain them in the English fashion": one seized by the hair and his throat cut, the other snatching a sword and fighting to the last: the rest making "long and brave resistance—with only bottles and plates they killed many of their assailants, but in the end they were all slaughtered." It was from such scenes and hairbreadth 'scapes that Archibald Swinton came back to Scotland, supplied Orme with details for his History, married when he was about forty-six, bought an estate, had his picture painted by Sir Joshua, and lived a quiet life diversified by books and watering-places for many more years. Among the connexions of his family in later years, one may note, are

found two Archbishops of Canterbury, Tait and Davidson, both *habitués* of the interesting house, full of treasures at Kimmerghame.

Side by side with the memories of Archibald Swinton one may place those of a very different man, Richard Barwell, not a typical adventurous soldier, but a model man of business, amassing wealth, yet (at least according to the standard of those days) an honest man and a thoroughly honest politician, living to return to England as a typical nabob, calling for "more curricles." His letters have been published in *Bengal Past and Present*. A contrast he is to the Mr. Paul Benfield who made an incredible fortune in an incredibly short time in Madras, very successfully fleeced the Nawab of the Carnatic, but was not successful in eluding the arm of the law. Yet he too returned to England with wealth "beyond the dreams of avarice," and was immortalized in a caricature as a stout gentleman of colour riding in Hyde Park on a stout cob and denominated "Count Rupee." Benfield was an upstart; Barwell was of a family already established in the East. He was born in 1741. William Barwell, his father, was President and Governor at Fort William from April, 1748, to July 1749. Then he was dismissed because of "his violent behaviour at Patna to Mr. Jackson, his not setting his seal to a paper which the Council thought was necessary for carrying into execution their contract with Omichand Deepchand, and his return from thence without leave from his superiors of Calcutta."

As early as 1765 we find young Richard, well established in office, writing to his friend Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, with interesting details of politics and commerce. Clive, a hero of Archibald Swinton—there is a fine impression of the mezzotint from Dance's portrait at Kimmerghame—is to Richard Barwell an autocratic and interfering despot.

His Lordship takes gigantic strides in what is stiled "settling the country." . . . In short, Clive is really our King; his word is the law, and, and, as in your time (1758), he laughs at contradictions. . . . You will hear what a devilish piece of work has been made about presents.

A letter in the same year to his father throws much light on the early career of Nuncomar and the intrigues, which lasted a good twenty years, of "Mahommet Reza Cawn," and suggests that the feeling against Clive was not a wholly disinterested one. The great man had got hold of Mr. Johnstone, who had been in India about ten years, feathering his nest, one fancies, and now dismissed him, whereat, says Barwell: "The strict scrutiny made by his Lordship has surprized me the more as, in condemning a practice he now himself tastes the sweets of, he oversetts those very arguments with which he supported his pretensions to the jagheer"—that famous jaghire the rights to which have interested investigators from the day it was granted to Sir George Forrest in his classic biography of Clive. But Mr. Barwell's interests were far from being only commercial and political. What is hidden behind the brief words to his friend Mrs. Topham—"The mademoiselle you commended to my notice has given me the strangest history I ever heard in my life"? Was

she some young lady he had been asked to find a husband for? He writes to his mother :—

To discourage ladies whose merit or beauty may recommend them from coming to India would be very spiteful indeed, nay much more so than to permit such as we have been lately pestered with (without any qualification to commend them but the gender feminine) to persist in their invasion. It is true that Bengall at present is stocked with maiden pensioners, who laugh at the false spirit, which the flatterers and fools of the settlement call generosity. Whether I speak so harshly of this error I will not pretend to be my own judge. I am displeased, I must confess, to see people lavish their substance in this vainglorious manner, when it may be so much better employ'd in relieving the necessities of their really indigent friends and relations.

Very expensive it was, no doubt, to be always providing entertainments for those young ladies; and they were persistent and hardy invaders of the cantonments and compounds from the first English settlement up to at least the time of Glorvina O'Dowd.

But young ladies were not the only persons who pestered the Company's servants to find them a settlement on India's coral strand : young gentlemen (and their parents) were not behindhand in applications. Twenty years and more after this the Prince of Wales himself had to receive a rebuff from Lord Cornwallis for trying to plant a ne'er-do-weel in the climate of the East. The great Dundas was more persistent and more successful. He had patronage in his own hands, and he knew how to pick good men. In his time Scotsmen had ceased to colonize Ireland : they came in increasing numbers to colonize India. In 1765 Richard Barwell was advising his father, now a director of the East India Company, to send out his young brother, for, he sagely remarks, "India is a sure path to competency. A moderate share of attention, and your being not quite an idiot, are (in the present situation of things) ample qualities for the attainment of riches." Mr. Hastings did not leave the way quite so easily open; and Lord Cornwallis did his best to close it altogether. But Mr. Barwell in 1765 could still encourage young gentlemen. There is an amusing letter of his to Master Edward Smith at Christ's Hospital, commending "the engaging sweetness of disposition I remarked in you in your very puerile years," but adding some words of polite advice :—

I can never sufficiently commend the laudable intention of your parent in giving you the most accomplish'd education : nothing can be lost by it, and, be assured from me, it is the most judicious step that could have been taken for the advancement of your future fortune in this part of the world especially. Permit not, then, too great a fondness for diversion, which is too frequently the case of young men, to call off your attention, but by a steady application acquire those accomplishments designed for you, and professing them approve yourself worthy of the care of so good a father, to whom I request my compliments may be made as likewise to Mrs. Smith.

Richard Barwell was certainly a kindly young fellow enough, but it may be that the deceitfulness of riches ate into his character, for his later letters became much more tedious and commercial. He played an honest part beside Warren Hastings, when that greatest of all English servants of India was beset night and day by the machinations of Clavering and Monson and Francis, of whom Lord Thurlow not untruly said—and Creevey, arrant Whig though he was, records it—that it would have been better if the ship which took them out had gone to the bottom, Loyal though he was to the great man, he grew tired of the contest and returned to a life of affluence and ostentation in England, while his superior ended the long struggle and came home to Daylesford a comparatively poor man. The fight between Hastings and his opponents, of which the details are so well known since Sir George Forrest published the documents which are a triumphant vindication of the Governor-General, is typical of much that characterizes throughout history the opposition of jealous colleagues to a man of genius and honour superior to their own. Clavering, Monson, and particularly Francis used every stick they could find to beat the dog Hastings with, and revelled in the accusations of every kind of crime that could be trumped up against him. Barwell, to his lasting credit, stood by the great statesman through thick and thin. Truth, the history of British India is perpetually proving, does win in the end: Hastings is in the front rank of the noblest British public servants, and his opponents are remembered only in obloquy and contempt.

So the first verdicts are often redressed. Is there another example in history of British India, in the case of the Black Hole of Calcutta? We can hardly tell. One of the most interesting and original articles in these volumes is that in which, in 1915, Mr. J. H. Little impugned the veracity of Holwell, the original authority for the grim story of the Black Hole of Calcutta. He is prepared to prove, he says, "that the Black Hole incident was a gigantic hoax." One rubs one's eyes. It is true that Bengalis have generally, if not always, disputed the truth of Holwell's story; but did not the present writer visit the Hole itself under the personal guidance of a Viceroy who is himself an eminent historical authority, and are not the stones themselves alive to testify to-day? Well, what is the story? We begin by discovering that his contemporaries had a very poor opinion of John Zephaniah Holwell: "a specious and sensible man," said Clive in 1757, "but from what I have heard and observed myself, I cannot be persuaded he will ever make use of his abilities for the good of the Company." Modern critics find him inaccurate in his evidence on several occasions to the verge, or beyond it, of forgery. In his narrative of the Black Hole he is himself the hero: that, it would seem, must damn him in modern eyes. What is his story? On a stifling night in June, 1756, 146 men were shut up in a tiny room—the place, when we saw it, was a sort of annexe to a stable, not far from the General Post Office; of these, when morning came, only 23 were able to totter out alive. Holwell himself endured the most terrible sufferings, was "very near pressed to death," was for hours insensible, survived with the greatest difficulty, was stricken with

a "high putrid fever" and then dragged off in fetters to the place of further imprisonment. The prisoners were confined in a space of which the exact dimensions are 18ft. by 14ft. 10in. It is asserted by the critic that, as the Suba in Durbar had promised that no harm should be done to the prisoners, it is not likely that the inferior officers would have disobeyed him. But did he not privately give quite different instructions? It would not be unlike Oriental methods—or indeed, shall we say, European medieval ones—to do so. Mr. Little thinks that when the prisoners were shut in and the door, which opened inwards, had to be shut, they would surely have rushed upon the guard and rather have been cut to pieces than suffer the incarceration. The answer is an obvious one: they were unarmed, and they could not possibly foresee that their imprisonment was to last for hours. Nor is it a serious difficulty that it took only half an hour to choose the place of captivity and to put the prisoners into it. Criticisms of detail do not seem to be more effective. Holwell could see inside. Could he? "It was night, and it follows at once that the room must have been dark as Erebus." Does it, on a night in June? The guards, if they wanted to see within, held up torches to the bars. But is it not much easier for those in a dark room to see, whose eyes have grown accustomed to the darkness, than for those in comparative light to peer into the gloom?

What is the alternative to Holwell's story? That only ten men were actually shut up, and that Holwell out of this manufactured a tale which has fastened upon the imaginations of historians ever since. The survivors and their rescuers, it is said, made no complaints. Sir William Hunter has explained this. No official account of the Black Hole tragedy was ever sent home. Are we sure of this? And, as a matter of fact, do not Holwell's letters refer to it? Is it possible that he created his story out of the facts of the heroic resistance to the actual capture of the fort, when so many of the defenders perished sword in hand? Mr. Little claims that the lists of those killed also disprove Holwell's assertion. The weakness of this seems to be that the deaths in the Black Hole were by no means all of Company's servants. After all is said, is it possible to believe that a story so circumstantial, whatever its inaccuracies in detail, can have been invented? In its various forms it occurs not only in Holwell's narrative, but in a letter published in the *London Chronicle*, and is mentioned by at least seven persons who were in Bengal at the time. Does not any attempt to discredit their testimony partake of the nature of "explaining away"? The story of Holwell, in spite of the defects of his character and his memory, one cannot but feel, still holds the field. It is no slight proof of its accuracy that Dr. Busteed believed it.

It is in historical investigations of value, among which Mr. Little's criticism must certainly be included, that the permanent services rendered by the Calcutta Historical Society largely consist. But family history, social history, military history, constitutional and legal history, the history of the relations between Europe and India, have each an important share in these volumes. In each they are worthy of much more consideration than they have at present

received in England. Let us take one example. The editors of *Bengal Past and Present* have for the most part rigidly excluded any references to religion which might cause distress to any of their readers; and, indeed, there is nothing in which the changes wrought by Time are more clearly seen than in the manner in which Europeans now speak of the religious observances of the different non-Christian bodies which have their home in India. It is unlikely that any Viceroy to-day would describe English soldiers, in the words of Warren Hastings about the Cossijurah case, as packing up "the family idol with other lumber in a basket"; and few, if any, missionaries would employ such a test of a convert's sincerity as did the Abbate D. Matteo Ripa in Calcutta early in the eighteenth century, who says:—

The first test the missionary makes of the sincerity of their conversion is to make them eat beef, to them a very hard and arduous trial, both on account of their natural repugnance to such food, and because if those of their sect come to hear of it they abominate them as impure, and refuse to eat with them or drink or converse with them.

Apart from such eccentricities, there is much to be gleaned from *Bengal Past and Present* as to the progress of missionary enterprise, the religious interests, generally rather tepid, of the Honourable East India Company, and the endeavours of the Roman Catholic clergy, particularly the Jesuits. There is a fine collection of memorials of good men in the Old Church, Calcutta, and a series of articles illustrates by very quaint portraits the types of ecclesiastical beauty presented by the clergy who in the last century and a half have ministered there. A parallel interest is to be found in the story of the old Dutch Church at Chinsurah, the oldest building in Bengal used for the worship of the Anglican Church. The connexion between work in India and in England is nowhere more continuous than in the Church of England. Two comparatively recent instances are typical: Archbishop Maclagan, who retained his nominal pension as an officer in the Indian Army to the day of his death, and the late Bishop Macdougall, the most eminent Canon of Winchester in modern days, who was consecrated in the architecturally remarkable Cathedral Church of Calcutta in 1855 as Bishop of Labuan. We have passed a long way from the India of the seventeenth century, when accusations of heterodoxy were favoured weapons against political or commercial opponents, and a gentleman at Balasore is charged with the "blasphemy" of asserting that "as the Presbyterians had taken away the King and the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, he hoped the devil would take away the Independents." This was in 1651—54, and perhaps the bad man a few years later added to his iniquities by declaring that his wish had been fulfilled.

Historical details will attract specialists to the valuable material provided by the Calcutta Historical Society. Social habits, family histories, incidents of adventure, will interest still more. These are very fully provided in the letters and diaries which *Bengal Past and Present* has already discovered and printed. Associations of the Thackerays, so touchingly recorded in Sir William Hunter's fascinating little book (1897), which begins so sadly, yet fittingly, with a chapter



on "Some Calcutta Graves," are recalled in several of the volumes: not the least interesting of them are connected with the diary of Emily Shakespear, the novelist's aunt. He remembered "a ghaut, a river stair, at Calcutta, and a day when down these steps to a boat which was in waiting came two children, whose mothers remained on the shore." One of these ladies was never to see her boy any more. She was Mrs. Shakespear, and her diary belongs to 1814 and the Viceroyalty of Lord Moira, first Marquess of Hastings. She, like the wife of Warren Hastings, whose dangerous adventure in 1782 is shown in a picture by Hodges still at Daylesford, passed the rocks and rapids of Colgong, and records her sharp impressions of the scene. Letters to her son Sir Richmond Shakespear a quarter of a century later are also published in the volumes: "the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier," as Lord Canning called him, who was at least one of the originals of Colonel Newcome. Thus fact and fiction mingle in these memories we glean of old-time British India, the "Diaries of the Three Surgeons of Patna," with the prototype of Jos Sedley. Nor are art and archaeology forgotten. In the very last number (April-June, 1924) we have a biography of George Chinnery (1774—1852)—and he comes in "The Newcomes," too. His portrait by himself is in the National Portrait Gallery, and hardly suggests the Indian dread of him as one to be painted by whom involved untimely death. Also in the same number we have a vindication of Lord Hastings' care for the monuments of Agra, and an interesting and careful account of several of "the friends of Warren Hastings," both English and Indian, by Mr. Gokulnath Dhur; while the earlier number of this year contains an excellent account of the activities of the first Surveyor-General (1764—76) of India, Major James Rennell, the distinguished ancestor of a distinguished public servant of to-day; the identification of a "mystery picture" in the Town Hall of Calcutta as a portrait of Lieutenant-General George Hewett; the verse translation by Warren Hastings on his way home in 1785 of Horace's ode, *Otium divos*, and a delightful caricature of Sir Charles Napier.

An outgoing Viceroy some quarter of a century ago, entertained at dinner in a London club, suggested that Englishmen and Indians might well be drawn together by a common sense of humour. In a more serious moment he would, no doubt, consider that the interest which they now share in a considerable period of the history of the Peninsula, an interest shown more markedly each year by scholars of every Indian race, as well as by the representatives of the ruling Power, may forge a more enduring link. No better example of this can be found than in the continued prosperity of the Calcutta Historical Society and the unabated enthusiasm with which it produces volume after volume of *Bengal Past and Present*.

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## Life in Old Calcutta.

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**C**ALCUTTA, as we know it to-day, is a city with two faces. An English visitor may come and go almost without realising that he has been to India at all. From Dalhousie Square to the Cathedral, the whole appearance is essentially European. The shops and stores, which stand in a long and glittering row down Chowringhee, are as good as any in London. The swarm of motor cars is reminiscent of Oxford Street: Clive Street is a replica of Bishopsgate: and the mammoth mansions, which are springing up on every side, might have been transported bodily from Northumberland Avenue. Barring the unfamiliar figures in the street and the wide expanse of maidan, there is little to remind us of the East. It is not until we penetrate into the Chinese quarter in Bentinck Street (Cossaitollah) and explore the purlieus of Bowbazar and Chitpore Road that we can obtain some idea of the real East.

A hundred years ago, there was, it is true, an European quarter: and it had extended beyond the narrow limits of "Tank Square." Lord Valentia, who visited Calcutta in 1802, speaks of "a range of excellent houses, chunamed and, ornamented with verandahs," which formed the Esplanade together with Government House. "Chowringhee, an entire village of palaces, runs," he says, "at right angles with it, and together forms the finest view I ever beheld in my life." Yet in the days of Impey and Hastings, it was customary for wayfarers to gather into large groups before braving the terrors of Park Street, which was then known as "Burying Ground Road": and a guard of sepoys paraded nightly to scare away dacoits and protect the house of my Lord Chief Justice which stood in a large park at the end of Middleton Row—a road which should surely be renamed Impey Row—on the site now occupied by the Loretto Convent and St. Thomas's Church.

The beauties of Calcutta as seen from the river have been celebrated by numerous writers. Captain George Elers, who paid a flying visit from Madras in 1804, declares that "the approach to Fort William is truly beautiful: the grass sloping down from the garden houses to the edge of the river, and large vessels anchoring close to the shore."

The Indiamen lay to at Kedgerree (69 miles below Calcutta) and the remainder of the journey was made in a *budgerow*. Lady Nugent, who was the wife of Sir George Nugent, Bart, Commander-in-Chief from January, 1812, to October, 1813, when he was superseded (much to his disgust) by the Earl of Moira, came up with her husband in the pilot vessel from Saugor Island, and was met by the Government boats—"the Yacht, a boat built by Lord Wellesley, called the 'Soonah Mooka,' another 'the Snake,' and a variety of smaller boats making quite a small fleet," and including a kitchen boat jestingly called the "Calcraft" from the Town Major of the day, who was a noted

epicure. "Fort William, the buildings of Calcutta, and the odd shaped boats, formed a really striking and beautiful scene," she writes in her journal.

There were no jute mills or petroleum depots at Budge Budge and Fort Gloster. Melancholy Point (a sailor's corruption of Munikhali) was the place chosen for the execution of river pirates, and was generally decorated with one of these gentry, hanging in chains on a high gallows. Higher up the river, just below Khurdah, the bodies of highwaymen were likewise hung in chains on the river bank, as late as 1845 : and Bholanath Chunder, in his *Travels of a Hindoo*, tells us that the village of Doomurdah, four miles north of Tribeni, was noted for its river-dacoits whose depredations extended as far as Jessore. Garden Reach was still a thing of beauty. "There is scarcely a house in this lovely reach," writes Sir Charles D'Oyly, the artist civilian in 1813, "that is not in the possession of, or rented by, a lawyer : and we have often heard it proposed that its designation should be changed to Lawyer's Reach." Miss Emma Roberts, whose "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindoostan" were published in London in 1835 in three volumes, rhapsodizes as follows :

The approach to the City of Palaces from the river is exceedingly fine : the Hooghly at all periods of the year presents a broad surface of sparkling water, and as it winds through a rich wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments.

The reference to "eternal verdure" is a trifle overdone. The Eden Gardens were not then in existence, and the trees on the maidan were as yet unplanted. The present Strand Road had, however, been begun in 1821, and was one of the undertakings successfully carried through by the Lottery Committee. It was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the shallow water which was alongside has now shifted to the west, owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand by the sinking of a ship of that name opposite Prinsep's Ghat. Prior to this reclamation, which threw a considerable portion of the river bank into the roadway, that Ghat, and also the Water Gate (Pani Ghat) of Fort William, were actually landing stages, as their name implies, and stood flush with the water.

The usual landing place, however, was at "Champaul Ghaut," which Emma Roberts describes as "a handsome stone esplanade, with a flight of broad steps leading to the water, which on the land side is entered through a sort of triumphant arch or gateway, supported upon pillars."

Immediately in front of this edifice, a wide plain of maidan spreads over a spacious area, intersected by very broad roads, and on two sides of this superb quadrangle a part of the city and the fashionable suburb of Chowringhee extend themselves.

Sir Charles D'Oyly is rather more precise. "Chandpaul Ghaut," he says "faces a long row of edifices forming the southern front of the city called the Respondentia, in the very centre of which is the Government House."

No buildings are allowed to be raised between this and Fort William, where there is an extensive grass plain divided in two by the main road leading from the city to Alipore and a cross road from the Fort to Chowringhee. An open space of two square miles, formed by the Respondentia on the North, Chowringhee on the East, the river on the West, and on the South by Tolly's Creek, is thus kept clear, and adds much to the comfort and salubrity of the town.

The name Respondentia appears here to be given to what is now known as Esplanade West and Esplanade East. But in a later passage Sir Charles D'Oyly gives us the more restricted and correct application of the phrase. The Respondentia, he there tells us, is "a walk from Chandpaul Ghaut to the Fort by the River's side with an avenue of trees. Children and their attendants, and people fond of walking, are the usual pedestrians." The construction of this walk, which is named after an old technical trade term, dates, like the Strand Road from the Lottery Committee which looked after municipal matters in Calcutta from 1817 to 1836 and was financed from the balance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs obtained from seventeen public lotteries. The Town Hall was another product of these lotteries, which were all the rage in their time.

The new comer was met at Chandpaul Ghat by a swarm of Rum Johnnies, or touts, who greeted him with the cry "Massa want Palkee?" and carried him off, if he had no friends to welcome him, to a punch-house in Lall Bazar, "a place, egad, to take all strangers in." Sir Charles D'Oyly thus describes them:—

There is a tribe of scoundrels who infest all the avenues communicating with new arrivals, for the most part composed of the lowest order of sircars or ketmutgers, all of whom speak English and endeavour to attach themselves to the young men as they arrive: nay, many, at the season of importation, or on hearing that a Company's ship is in the Roads, proceed fifty or sixty miles down the river, with the intention of obtaining employ.

Fortunately their reign over the Griffin's household was not as a rule of long duration. Those were the days of lavish hospitality: and when the new comer called, in accordance with custom, to make himself known to the *burra sahibs*, he would as often as not receive an invitation to stay.

The imposing aspect of the buildings in Calcutta has been the theme of many pens. Captain Elers writes:

The magnificent palaces, and towering above them all, the Government House, that from the whiteness of the *chunam* had the appearance of marble, and the freshness of the grass on the Esplanade of an evening, when all the fashionables meet in the cool of the evening in their carriages, palanquins, or on horseback, struck, me, unused to such gay sights, as perfectly delightful. Here the company linger, enjoying the cool of the evening, until dusk, when they go home, where a good dinner and plenty of cool Claret and Madeira are waiting for them.

We may next take a writer in Alexander's East India Magazine for January, 1834. "The dome of the Government-house rose dazzlingly in the glitter of the sun's rays, the opening prospect of Chouringhee confirmed the splendid opulence which Garden Reach had previously impressed, and the Ghauts and architectural structures along the Strand, which were interrupted or terminated by only one public edifice, the Mint, called up the conviction that the new metropolis of Asia was devoted rather to objects of public emolument than of national greatness." The present Mint, be it noted, was opened in 1832: but the reference is clearly to the older one which stood in Church Lane, opposite St. John's Church, on the site of the Stationery Office. If it be asked why no mention is made of the Supreme Court, which occupied the western portion of the land now appropriated by the High Court, the answer must be that by general repute "there was not in the whole town a meaner building externally."

The Esplanade with its many handsome private dwellings, and Government House and the Town Hall (although the latter possessed "no other merit than size") reminded Bishop Heber so forcibly of Petersburg, which he had visited as a young man, that "it was hardly possible for me to imagine myself anywhere else." A closer inspection was, however, less satisfactory. Cracks were conspicuous in the best houses: and behind the Esplanade were "only Tank Square and some other streets." Chowringhee, indeed, had only just ceased to be "a scattered suburb occupied by Europeans."

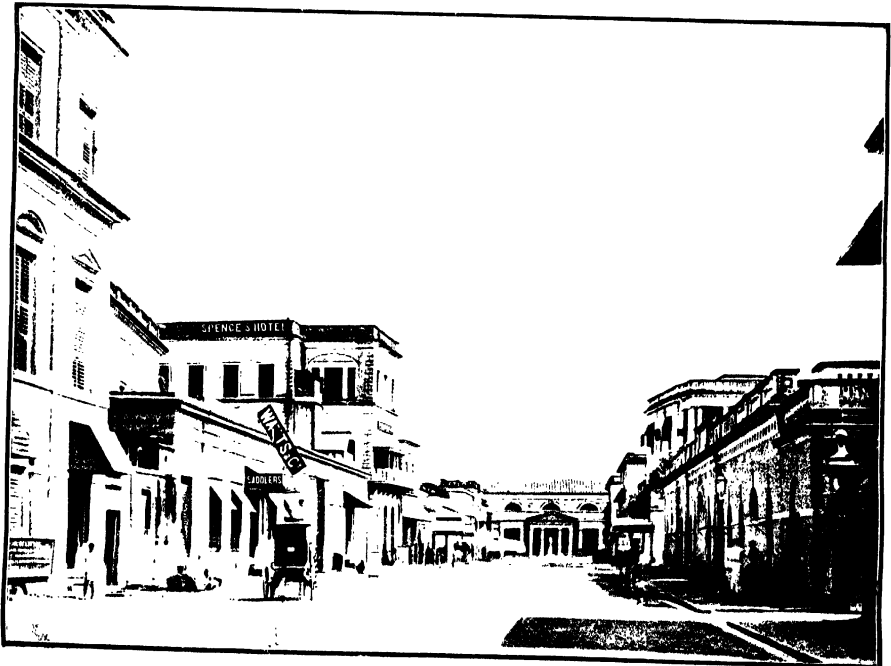
Writers' Buildings which stood as now fronting the north part of Tank Square, were then a long range of nineteen three-storied houses. The ruins of the Old Fort were removed in 1819, to make way for the Custom House: and the Black Hole disappeared along with them. There was no Holwell obelisk: it had been taken down in 1821 under the orders of the Marquess of Hastings. On the south side of the Square, extending from Vansittart Row to Council House Street, was the Exchange which was opened in 1818 and, like the Jerusalem Coffee House in London, was the favourite haunt of the ship's captains of those days.

Who remembers the Ice House to-day? It was an odd looking squat building and stood in Hare Street, to the west of what is now the Small Cause Court, and was opened with much ceremony by Lord Auckland. As late as 1834 Calcutta depended for its ice upon such fitful supplies as could be obtained from Hooghly town: but in that year some forty tons were brought from Boston and the sensation was immense.

A subscription pack of hounds were kept by the sportsmen of Calcutta, and a favourite place for hunting the jackal was Barrackpore. The race-stand which was built in 1816, was then as now, on the maidan. Sir Charles D'Oyly tells us that it was a "very pretty ornamental building," oblong in shape. The lower apartment was reserved for meetings of the Jockey Club and above it was an open colonnade terrace. Public breakfasts and balls were sometimes given in the lower room, and also at the Town Hall.



THE STATUE OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS IN TANK SQUARE.  
With Writers Buildings in the Background.  
(From Sir Charles D'Oyly's "Views of Calcutta," 1830.)



WELLESLEY PLACE AND THE DALHOUSIE INSTITUTE IN 1890.  
(From a photograph lent by W. P. Harris.)



The Theatre was very seldom full, and as for the Churches, Emma Roberts quizzingly declares that "notwithstanding the preponderance of the sons and daughters of Caledonia in Calcutta," St. Andrew's Kirk was very thinly attended while the Cathedral, by which St. John's Church is indicated, was always crowded.

Until 1808 the theatre was situated at the north-west corner of Lyons Range on the plot of ground now occupied by the premises of Messrs. James Finlay and Co. A ball room was attached, and in the days of Cornwallis and Wellesley "public breakfasts" were habitually given there by the Governor-General. This was not, of course, the earliest theatre, which was in Rope Walk (Mission Row) at the corner of Lall Bazar: but it came into existence in 1775. The locality, however, became unfashionable: and in 1813 a new building was erected at the corner of Chowringhee and what is now Theatre Road, the compound of which extended as far as the present Elysium Row. A representation of "the Chowringhee Theatre," as it was called, may be seen in the panoramic view which was published by William Wood, junior, in 1833, and which is on exhibition in the Calcutta Room at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Sir Charles D'Oyly, writing during the twenties in "Tom Raw," makes mention of several amateur performers at this theatre—Palmer, who "acts as Garrick did of old," Curry "piquant from its rich Kean sauce," Playfair, "who performed Falstaff better than Henderson or Stephen Kemble," and Wilson, "the most versatile in his talents of all." The female parts were taken by actresses who lived on the premises and received monthly salaries. Here Mrs. Esther Leach, the "Indian Siddons," made her bow to a Calcutta audience in July, 1826.

The place was also a popular afternoon resort. It was destroyed by fire in 1839 and its successor was the Sans Souci Theatre in Park Street (of which the fine portico and flight of steps as well as the inner shell may still be seen in St. Xavier's College). This was opened in May 1840: and actors were now imported from England one of whom, Mr. Barry, had a capricious voice which was given to deserting him at critical moments. On November 2, 1843, Mrs. Leach was burned to death on the stage: and the career of the Sans Souci Theatre came to an end. The building was bought by Archbishop Carew in 1844 and converted to its present use.

Emma Roberts gives the following account of the English quarter:

The houses are almost entirely detached from each other, or connected only by long ranges of terraces, surmounted, like the flat roofs of the houses, with balustrades. The greater number of these mansions have pillared verandahs extending the whole way up, sometimes to the height of three stories, besides a large portico in front: and these clusters of columns, long colonnades, and lofty gateways, have a very imposing effect, especially when interspersed with forest trees and flowering shrubs. The material of the houses is what is known as pukka, brick coated with cement, resembling stone, and even those residences intended for families of very moderate income cover a large extent of



ground and afford architectural displays which will be vainly sought amid habitations belonging to the same class in England.

At the same time, "a mud hut, or rows of native hovels, constructed of mats, thatch and bamboos, not superior to the rudest wigwam, often rest against the outer walls of palaces," and avenues open from the principal streets, "intersected in all directions by native bazars, filled with unsightly articles of every description." Moreover, observes Miss Roberts, "few of the houses except those exclusively occupied by Europeans, are kept in good repair."

As for the interior of these palaces, "little is wanted besides the furniture which has been used for the cabin on board ship and that little can be immediately supplied from the bazars." It was the custom in those days for passengers to furnish their cabins. Mr. Peter Cherry, a well-known Madras civilian of his time, and paymaster to the forces at the storming of Seringapatam in 1799, wrote in this fashion to his three daughters in 1821, on hearing of their intention to embark for Fort Saint George on the General *Harris* Indiaman :—

Your cabin furniture, if it has no other recommendation, is English and will always have a value increasing in proportion to your length of absence from England. I have now most of my cabin furniture which I bought in 1811.

The chairs and tables were usually of fine wood, handsomely carved, and the sofas were as a rule covered with satin damask; but, says Emma Roberts, "comfort and convenience being more studied than appearance, there are few of those elegant little trifles in the way of furniture by which an upholsterer in London contrives to make a fortune." Moorahs or hassocks were used in the houses and "the want of one is always felt severely by every old inhabitant of India." "One peculiarity strikes a stranger immediately as he enters a house in India inhabited by Europeans: all the sofas, chairs, and tables are placed at a distance of a foot at least from the wall: a very necessary precaution in a country abounding with insects and reptiles of all kinds." Again, "every side of the apartment is pierced with doors," and the whole of the surrounding ante-chambers appear to be "peopled with ghosts," meaning thereby the servants "clad in flowing white garments whose number seem endless."

The floors were covered with matting, but never boarded. Nor were ceilings in use, the upper timbers being open to view and to these the large frame punkahs were ordinarily slung. The walls were invariably plastered with lime, laid very smooth and finished off with a trowel, so that the white did not rub off on to the clothes. Sometimes the rooms were washed with colour to take off the glare. Captain Elers found hardly any glass windows in Madras at the end of the eighteenth century and says that "venetian blinds and doors were substituted to get the benefit of the current of air." But Sir Charles D'Oyly, writing some twenty years later, states that "the windows are now all glazed with glass got from Europe": and "such as face the sun are further provided with strong outside venetians, which serve as shutters."

Mosquitoes abounded, and were a perfect pest. "Nobody can guess what these animals are till they have lived among them," wrote Emily Eden in March 1836, a few days after her brother, Lord Auckland, had been sworn in as Governor-General, "Many people have been laid up for many weeks by their bites on their first arrival." A week later there is another entry in her diary: "Sir Charles Metcalfe, who has been here for thirty years, says they bite him now, as much as they did the first day, and many people seemed to be confined for months after they first arrive, from the inflammation of the bites." Sir Charles D'Oyly says:—

The mosquitoes may be heard towards sun-set swarming into the homes of Europeans, in full chorus, humming as loud as a stocking weaver's loom. The natives rarely cook their victuals before that time, when the smoke drives away the mosquitoes: then getting on the wing, they throng towards the quarter occupied by Europeans principally.

At all times therefore the beds were furnished with curtains made of "kabbradool, which is a kind of gauze manufactured from the refuse of raw silk, commonly dyed of a light green." Sometimes a very small frame punkah would be suspended within the bed curtains and would be moved by means of a cord passing through them into another room. Sir Charles D'Oyly "derived such pleasure and benefit" from this construction that he wonders "the plan did not become general."

The swinging punkah in Calcutta is almost as extinct as the dodo. Sir Charles D'Oyly describes it as "a light frame, of such length as may suit the room, perhaps fifteen feet long, and four in depth, covered with chintz or coloured linen: being set in motion it agitates the air greatly and affords extreme refreshment to such as are seated under its line of action."

Persons unaccustomed to the punkah sometimes are attacked with headaches, which however, in general gradually become less troublesome, after being habituated to the use of this very agreeable and highly useful machine. Care must be taken to examine the rope by which the punkah is suspended, from time to time, as many have fallen in consequence of their action cutting through the ropes. Though I have witnessed several accidents of the kind, I do not recollect ever seeing any person hurt: the danger has generally been limited to a few dishes, glasses, etc., being broken, or a table defaced.

When was this "very agreeable and highly useful machine" introduced in Calcutta? According to Bholanath Chunder ("Travels of a Hindoo") the inventor was a Director of the Dutch Settlement at Chinsurah, who flourished at the close of the eighteenth century. Hastings and Francis, it is certain, were denied the doubtful solace which it affords, and were content with "flappers" waved by boys, whose exertions might with a little effort, be imagined to "produce a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere." Dr. Busteed dates the swinging punkah from an early year in the nineteenth century: but it may be noted that Grandpré, whose "Voyage to the Indian Ocean and to Bengal," was published in 1803, found it in use in Calcutta in

1789. Seven years earlier, however, it was unknown to Sophia Goldborne, the young lady who retailed her experiences in "Hartly House," and whose description of the "flappers" has just been quoted.

As a result of the punkah, candlesticks and oil lamps were protected by glass-guards, or shades. The earliest form was a tall glass cylinder, which stood on the table, the wax candle or candlestick being placed inside. In later days an inverted dome was employed which fitted into the candlesticks by means of an annular socket. Wall shades or sconces were also common. These were brackets attached to the wall, bearing a candle or cocoanut oil lamp: and a man was sometimes called upon, as a challenge or by way of forfeit, to empty one these filled with claret. Some held two, and others three lights. "The loftiness of the apartments renders a strong illumination necessary, and as cocoanut oil is very cheap, all the houses have the advantage of being well lighted."

For the dress of the sahib of one hundred years ago Sir Charles D'Oyly recommends "thirty suits" as an average outfit for men. The whole of these were, generally speaking, of white cotton manufactured into different cloths such as dimity, calico for upper and under shirts and upper and under waistcoats, and nankeen for pantaloons. Coats were only used on visits of ceremony or during the cold season: and if one was worn upon entering a friend's house, it was commonly removed at the request of the host, an upper waistcoat with sleeves being always carried in the palanquin. Some hardened *qui-hyes* persisted in "sudorific retention of their heavy woollen dresses." The ban upon white jackets at Government House was not removed until the time of Lord William Bentinck (1828—1835).

For the dresses of the ladies we must naturally turn to Emma Roberts. Unhappily, she is not very illuminating. Ladies' costumes, she says, "have very little pretensions to splendour compared to the displays of the toilette in the capitals of Europe." Many "during the warm weather dispense with bonnets and wear their hair in the plainest manner, circumstances which, though rendered almost necessary by the climate, detract from the general effect." Elsewhere, she tells us that in the days of Lady Loudoun, the wife of the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823), an intimation was given to the ladies of Calcutta that they were expected to appear at Government House in court plumes: and the result was that a "corner" was at once made by some enterprising person in ostrich feathers, and many of the ladies had to remain at home.

During the reign of Lady William Bentinck more simplicity was affected; but there was "a want of freshness and luster" about ladies' attire, "nor can there be much fancy and variety exhibited in the form and ornaments in a place where fashions and milliners are few." According to "Tom Raw," the "veteran milliner" in Calcutta was "Dame Balmanno." Men went to Simpson's for regimentals and to Watts for boots. Wiltshire traded in wines and a Monsieur De Bast kept a "French emporium for Parisian elegancies and

luxuries of every kind," such as musical snuff boxes, pier-glasses and chandeliers, near Colvin's Ghaut which stood at the river end of Hastings-street.

Englishmen in India slept in long drawers made of thin calico, which were also known as mosquito drawers, or Mogul breeches. The day began with a ride on horseback "at the first glimpse of dawn," and this lasted until the sun rose on the horizon. In the cold weather the ride might be extended: for breakfast was a movable feast. Tea, coffee, eggs, toast and fish (either fresh or slightly powdered with rice and salt) formed the staple of the meal. But "many gentlemen, especially those from North Britain added sweetmeats and *soogee*," the latter corresponding with porridge, or *burgoo*, "only that it is made of wheat-grits instead of being prepared from oats, which are not cultivated in India, though the black species has been frequently found growing wild."

The task of dressing was not hurried. The sahib would sit on a chair reading, while a servant poured water from an earthen *soorie* or jug into a large *chillumchee* or vessel, made either of copper, brass, or *tutenag* (pewter), but generally the last. This vessel was about four inches deep and from fifteen to eighteen inches in diameter, with a broad rim like a plate to which a strainer of corresponding metal was attached and could be removed at pleasure. This strainer was considered to be essential to comfort, as it concealed the soiled water. Another servant washed the sahib's feet and a third held the towel in readiness, for in those days the "Balasore bearers" were most particular.

It was usual before breakfast to take a glass of water cooled by means of pewter bottles agitated in a solution of saltpetre. Its effects were declared to be very salutary and few of those who adhered to the custom were said to have failed to have a good appetite. Another practice which was strongly recommended was to pour four or five pots of cold water over the head either in the morning or before dressing for dinner. This was "not less efficacious in regard to bracing the muscles and prevents that dreadful relaxation to which persons are subject in hot climates."

The forenoon was dedicated to reading and writing and among the idle the hookah and eventually cards filled the vacuum. Those who had offices to attend repaired to them in their palanquins and after some four or five hours would return to their homes for "tiffin." This was a spacious meal. De Quincey, it will be remembered, speaks in his "Casuistry of Roman Meals" of his "East Indian Uncle," who insisted upon every one taking tiffin who called upon him between two and five, "and such a tiffin!" "How meagre a shadow is the European meal to its glowing Asiatic cousin."

Everyone then went to bed and slept until near sunset, "when they again put on clean clothes of every description and repaired to dinner." But there was a preliminary process, of which we have already had a hint from Captain Elers. About sunset "animation and activity" were exhibited. Horses, carriages, palanquins and other conveyances were to be seen at the doors of all the houses. The "Course," to which all Calcutta betook itself of an evening

before dinner, was the road leading from Government House to the cross-road from the Fort to Chowringhee of which mention was made on a preceding page. It was "very broad, the centre only bricked, and about a quarter of a mile in length." Emma Roberts, while admitting that the public drive in Calcutta afforded a gay and interesting spectacle, declared that it was sadly deficient in the elegance which might be expected from the wealth and taste of those who frequented it. There would be no difficulty, she says, in finding upon any hackney-coach stand in London carriages quite equal in appearance to many of those which figured on the Course. Moreover, "gentlemen are rather too apt when seated in their carriages to place their feet upon the door of the vehicle." Sir Charles D'Oyly also comments upon this practice and maintains that "experience has sanctioned as essential what custom has rendered familiar."

At a later stage the Eden Gardens became popular. But they too had their day, and there are still residents in Calcutta who can recall the time, not so far distant, when the Red Road once more came into fashion and succeeded the Esplanade as the evening promenade. The men walked along the Secretary's Walk and the ladies drove up and down in barouches, victorias, and tum-tums, while European constables were stationed at each end to keep the thoroughfare select. In these days of motor cars, Tollygunge and Jodhpur are the centres of attention and the Red Road is deserted.

Coffee or tea was served after dinner at about 8 or 9 o'clock. Suppers were not usual except among certain families in Calcutta and among civil servants at certain out-stations.

A great retinue of servants was kept, and the practice, says Sir Charles D'Oyly, has "often been the topic of much inconsiderate censure." But the following picture is not overdrawn. It is taken from the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 :

Seated on an easy chair of the coolest construction, one leg carelessly thrown upon a costly morah, the aristocratic civilian smokes his hookah in all the indolent luxury of a temperature of ninety-four degrees. His sircar advances with a profound salaam to receive his orders for the day : the hookah-burdar stand stands ready to replace the exhausted chillum, the peadah to bear his master's commands whenever he may choose to have them conveyed; and the punkah bearer to fan him with the broad leaf of the palmyra. Every want is anticipated : all he has to do for himself is to think and as soon as his wishes are expressed they are executed. When he retires to his nightly repose, he is undressed by his obsequious valet, and when he rises he is dressed by the same hand. When he goes abroad he is borne on the shoulders of four sturdy retainers and attended by as many more; or when he chooses to go on foot, covered by a chatta and followed by a host of servitors of various ranks and designations, his walk for pleasure or for exercise is a positive procession.

Many of these domestics have disappeared altogether, and are barely remembered even by their names. The *Soontah-burdar* was a servant retained only by persons of rank or in office. He carried a short silver bâton about two feet long and rather bigger at the upper end where it was ordinarily a little curved like the handle of a hanger and was ornamented with a tiger's face or some such device. The other end was considerably smaller. These bâtons were formed of solid silver cases filled with rosin. Higher in rank than the *Soontah-burdar* came the *Chobedhar*. He carried a straight pole of similar formation as the bâton about five feet long and from three to four inches in diameter at the top tapering down to about an inch and a half at the bottom where it was armed with a strong ferrule of iron.

Some persons of distinction kept both these classes of servants. It was their business to attend at the hall-doors, to announce guests, and also to deliver and receive notes and messages. They also ran by the side of the palanquin, the proximity which they kept to the person of their master or mistress denoting their rank in the domestic hierarchy. The other servants preceded the palanquin in the same order. Occasionally a *Jemadar* or head-servant who carried no insignia and who was either a confidential or an old servant ran by the side of the machine and kept up a conversation with his employer.

The wages of these superior servants varied in different parts of the country. A *Jemadar* might receive from Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 a month, a *Chobedhar* from Rs. 8 to Rs. 15; and a *Soontah-burdar* from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. They generally wore belts of coloured cloth, and a breast-plate of silver or brass bearing the initials of their masters' names. Below these men came the *hircarrahs* or messengers who carried nothing but an iron-spiked walking stick decorated with a cotton tassel, and *peadahs* or peons (footmen) who carried no sticks. Peons were used to carry local correspondence but the *hircarrahs* were accustomed to be sent on long journeys.

One or two or even three *Khitmatgars* invariably attended each gentleman's table and were provided with small hand-punkahs or with whisks made of hair, feathers or grass roots with which they kept away flies. It was the practice of one *khitmatgar* to stand behind his master's chair at meals; and within recent times the *khitmatgar* always accompanied his master or mistress when they went out to dinner. If Mrs. Fenton, who jotted down her impressions of India in 1827, is to be believed, "The mission in life of the *durwan* is to search the persons of your friends' *khitmatgars* whenever you give a *burra-khana* in order to make sure that none of your spoons and forks are disappearing along with them." *Khitmatgars* received 5 to 10 rupees a month and *khansamas* (or consumers as they were called, with a spice of malice) 20 or even 30.

Saltpetre was used for cooling liquids and solidifying butters and jellies. This was the work of the *Aubdar* (*Abdar*) who, if he were skilful, "could regulate the temperature to an astonishing extent." Decanters were very seldom used and wines were placed on the tables in bottles which were in-

variably covered with cloth bags kept constantly wet. Claret was the usual drink and also madeira, and an excellent story is told by Captain George Elers in his Memoirs of the consternation he caused on returning to England in 1806. He mechanically seized a bottle of madeira which was standing next to him at dinner and poured about a half a tumbler of it, according to custom, into water. "Do you know, young gentleman," said his host, "what are you doing? why, you might as well drink so much gold!"

*Massalchis* in those days were, as their name indicates, torch-bearers and ran in front of the palanquin. *Khetassis* who pulled the swinging punkahs received from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 a month. Lastly, there was the *sircar* or money-servant who was a species of house-steward. Gentlemen in India, we learn from Sir Charles D'Oyly, rarely or never carried money in their pockets except when travelling and relied upon their *sircars* to make all purchases and to receive and disburse all money. The pay of the *sircar*, who was always a Hindu, would be Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 a month and some of them were accustomed to serve without pay on account of the *dustoori* or deduction of one-sixteenth which it was the rule to give them upon all purchases.

Mention must not be forgotten of the hookah-burdar, whose business it was to prepare and attend to the hookah and who received from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 monthly. Some gentlemen, says Sir Charles D'Oyly even kept two hookah-burdars to attend them by night as well as by day.

The old notion that the only alternative to making a fortune in Calcutta was to die of a fever is scouted by Sir Charles D'Oyly. He asserts that the best course for the newcomer to follow was "to do as he should find the old inhabitants do and to burn all the instructions which his doctors in England might have given him." He goes further and lays no small stress on the great age to which numbers of European inhabitants have lived in Bengal. "Many of these," he says, "have not been blessed with strong constitutions but by prudence and forbearance have formed, so to say, an artificial stamina which has stood them in better stead than the robust iron habits of the less temperate." "With several the climate," according to him, "has actually proved highly restorative." A fever was, however, to be expected within the first season, and "the severity of the attack will depend on the state of the constitution." This fever was considered as a "seasoner," and fatal effects were "only to be apprehended on the patient disregarding the admonition of his friends and exposing himself to the sun or associating in midnight revels."

In spite of the absence of electric fans and modern methods of sanitation, Englishmen in Calcutta were, as a matter of fact, often long lived. William Cotes Blacquiere, who was for fifty-three years Police Magistrate and is said to be the original of the Saviour in Zoffany's picture of "The Last Supper" in St. John's Church, died in Calcutta in 1853 at the age of ninety. He came out with William Hickey on board the *Seahorse* Indiaman in 1777, and used to talk of having danced a minuet with Lady Jones, the wife of the great Orientalist and Judge of the Supreme Court. His

portrait in caricature may be seen in a coloured print entitled "The Bengal Levee," which hangs in the Victoria Memorial Hall and was drawn by James Gillray from a sketch "taken on the spot by an officer" who is believed to be General Stevenson. The print which was published in 1792 represents Lord Cornwallis holding a reception at the old Government House, and among the pictures on the wall, Daniell's aquatint of the Great Tank and Old Mission Church is clearly identifiable, Blacquiere was a fine vernacular scholar, and acted as Chief Interpreter at the Supreme Court.

In 1848, five years before his death, there arrived a young man of the name of Robert Belchambers, well known to a past generation as Registrar of the High Court on the Original Side, who spent sixty-five years in Calcutta and died as recently as June, 1913. This veteran could remember the days when the Chief Justice, Sir James Colvile, lived in Old Post Office Street, when the Bishop's Palace had just been removed by Dr. Daniel Wilson from Russell Street to Chowringhee, when St. Paul's Cathedral was in the first year of its existence, and when Lord Dalhousie might be seen personally superintending the planting of the trees which are to-day the glory of the Maidan. There were no foot-paths in the streets, as indeed there are none to-day in such old world thoroughfares as Middleton Street.

Adjutant birds perched on every roof and pinnacle or stalked about assisting the jackals and the Board of Commissioners to scavenge the town. Most of the houses in the European quarter stood in their own spacious compounds surrounded by lofty walls. Durwans sat guarding the pillared gates and watching the passing stream of palkees. There was not a single shop in Chowringhee, and the first footpath was made in that street in 1858 by the filling up of an open drain. The Bengal Club was housed in the single storied building in which Macaulay had held his historic breakfasts. An untidy bazar disfigured the corner of Dhurumtollah; and an equally ill-kept lane represented the wide street leading to the Municipal Office of-to-day. There was no Indian Museum; its place was taken by the old High School which was transplanted to Darjeeling in 1863 under the name of St. Paul's School.

The Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, which was the court of appeal from the decisions of judges in the mofussil, held its sittings until 1862 in a fine building with a long colonnade frontage on the Lower Circular Road abutting on Bhowanipore. The site is occupied by the station hospital for British troops. Sudder-street recalls its earlier location, but the house (which now stands in the centre of the Museum compound) had been handed over to the Board of Revenue and is shown as such in one of Sir Charles D'Oyly's sketches. The "sieve tank" or watergate survives as a solitary relic of the past, and may still be seen in Kyd Street just beyond the United Service Club.

The merest recital of these forgotten features of Calcutta is sufficient to mark the mighty transformation which has overtaken old Job Charnock's settlement among the marshes.

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## Thomas Hickey : Portrait Painter.

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**T**HOMAS HICKEY, portrait painter, was the son of Noah Hickey, a confectioner, of Capel Street Dublin and was born in that city about 1740 (1). After studying at the Royal Hibernian Academy's School and at Rome, he settled in London and exhibited fifteen pictures at the Royal Academy between 1772 and 1778. One of these (1772), a half length, "Portrait of a Clergyman painted as a present for the New Magdalen Hospital," is believed to represent Dr. Philip Dodd, the fashionable divine who was executed for forgery at Newgate in 1777. He also painted the Duke of Cumberland (1775) and his Duchess (1776): the former being declared by Walpole to be "very like." His other portraits are unnamed: but there are (or were) in the Dublin Mansion House portraits by him of two Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, the first Marquess Townshend (1767—1772) and the fourth Duke of Bedford (1757—1761): and his small full-length picture of Mrs. Abington, the actress, which was shown at the Academy in 1775, hangs on the walls of the Garrick Club building in London. His last Academy exhibit (1778) was "a story taken from the seventh book of Tasso's Jerusalem, stanza 6th."

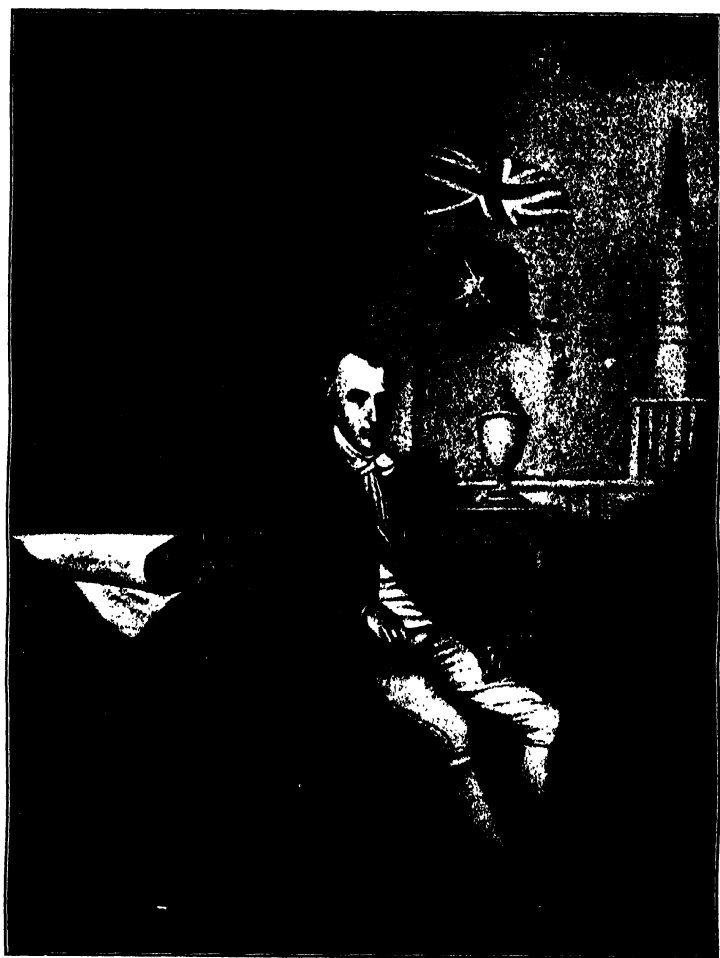
Hickey then migrated to India where he spent the greater part of the rest of his life: but the date of his arrival has hitherto been uncertain. Colonel H. D. Love in his "Vestiges of Old Madras" (Indian Records Series, 1913: Vol. III p. 462 note) says that "Thomas Hickey first came to India in 1780 or 1781," and quotes from an official paper in support of his statement (Publ. Desp. from England, Vol. LXXXIV. July 6, 1780). But Mr. William Foster, who has been good enough to examine the relevant documents at the India Office, informs the present writer that the letter of July 5, 1780 to which Colonel Love refers, merely forwarded a list of persons authorized to proceed to the East Indies during that season, and supplies no evidence that any one of those named ever arrived there. The India Office possesses no copy of the list, but it may be assumed that it contained Thomas Hickey's name, for the Court Minutes show that on March 1, 1780, an application from him for leave to go to India to practise as a portrait painter was referred to the Committee of Correspondence: that on April 26 permission was granted: and, finally, that on May 10 Stratford Canning of Clement's Lane, and Hugh Bell of Old Broad Street, merchants, were approved as his sureties in the sum of £500 each.

On his way out to India, he met at Lisbon his namesake William Hickey, the attorney, who with Charlotte Barry, his mistress, was detained there from February to June, 1782, until a ship should be available to take them to

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(1) It is clear from the date (1772) of Hickey's first exhibit at the Royal Academy that he could not have been born "about 1760," as suggested in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A more likely date is 1740, as will be seen later.

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THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.  
(From the Picture by Thomas Hickey in the Banqueting Hall, Madras.)



Bengal. "Upon our arrival," says William (Memoirs Vol. II. p. 386) "one of our first visitors was Mr. Thomas Hickey, a portrait painter, with whom my family had been acquainted, and done him some service in the profession, but I had never before seen or heard of him."

Thomas told William that he had embarked on an East Indiaman, but the ship was captured by a French and Spanish fleet, and he was carried to Cadiz, from which place, on obtaining his release, he proceeded to Lisbon. It seems clear that his vessel was one of the five East Indiamen—the *Hillsborough* (723 tons, Capt. Pitt Collett) the *Royal George* (758 tons, Capt. Thomas Foxall) the *Mount Stuart* (758 tons, Capt. John Haldane) all bound for the Coast and Bay, the *Godfrey* (716 tons, Capt. Henry Grueber) bound for Bombay, and the *Gatton* (758 tons, Capt. James Rattray) bound for St. Helena and Bencoolen—which left Portsmouth together on July 27, 1780, with a fleet of West Indiamen, and were captured on August 9 following in lat. 36. 28N. lon. 15. 29W. Robert Pott was a passenger on board the *Hillsborough* (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 110) and, like Thomas Hickey was carried a prisoner to Cadiz and released on parole.

On reaching Lisbon, Thomas Hickey "had so much employment" that, "instead of returning to England as he had permission to do," he "had remained there to very good account, had painted most of the English ladies and gentlemen, and was engaged upon the portraits of several Portuguese of rank." He "occupied four handsome rooms on the ground floor of Mrs. Williams' Hotel." Among those who sat to him were both William Hickey and his "wife" Charlotte. William was twice painted, "he making an admirable representation of me." One copy was sent to William's sister in London, and the other remained with Charlotte, who presumably took it with her to Calcutta.

Probably, like William, Thomas Hickey completed his journey to Bengal in a Portuguese ship. Mr. Foster observes that there is a gap in the India Office lists of Madras residents from 1780 to 1786, and the first Bengal List is for 1794. No assistance is afforded, therefore, by these lists in determining the movements of Thomas Hickey during the first period of his residence in India. But there is a passage in the third volume of the Memoirs of William Hickey (p. 242) which supplies us with a very definite date of his arrival in Calcutta.

In March (1784) my namesake Mr. Thomas Hickey, the portrait painter, whom I had left in Portugal, arrived in Bengal with an intention of following his profession and afterwards did so with considerable success. . . . Mr. Hickey took a large handsome house in the most fashionable part of Calcutta.

Where was this house? The records in the Calcutta Collectorate show that on February 11, 1789, Thomas Hickey mortgaged to John Fergusson for current Rs. 33,241-12-3 an upper-roomed dwelling house and one bigha and five cottahs of land, "bounded on the south by the public road leading from the great road to the house lately occupied by Edward Wheler." The men-

tion of Wheler's house enables us to define the locality with a fair degree of precision. The "great road" is Old Court House Street, described in other conveyances of the period as "the great road which leads from the Old Court House to the Esplanade." It was constructed about 1781 and forms the subject of an oil painting by Thomas Daniell which was formerly at Belvedere and was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall collection by Lord Carmichael. The "public road" will then be the small street now known as Larkins' Lane. This is shown in Mark Wood's Map of 1784. The northern side of Government Place facing the main entrance to Government House went in those days by the name of Wheler Place and was so called because Edward Wheler (who died at Sooksagur in October 1784) had his house there (2).

Thomas Hickey volunteered promptly to paint a full sized portrait of "Mrs." William Hickey, who had died on December 25, 1783, "partly from the small picture done while we were at Lisbon, but still more from his perfect recollections of her features and figure." The commission was given and he received two thousand sicca rupees, "or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling," for the picture. A second commission for a full-length portrait of William Hickey himself was next invited, and also given: and the same price was paid. "He made a very correct likeness with which everyone seemed pleased" (3). No mention is made of the present whereabouts of these pictures by the editor of William Hickey's "Memoirs."

(2) This "commodious and elegant" residence was advertised for sale at public auction by Joseph Quieros in the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 23, 1786. It was then tenanted by the Hon'ble Charles Stuart (Member of the Supreme Council from 1785 to 1793) at the monthly rent of sicca Rs. 900, and was stated to contain two halls, eight large chambers, with four verandahs, and a grand staircase. The area occupied was three bighas fourteen cottahs and six chittacks.

(3) William Hickey was addicted to sitting for his portrait. In the second volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 157) he says that during the period that Mr. Cleveland (the assistant surgeon who came out with him on the *Seahorse* in 1777) and he lived together in Calcutta (which was from December 1777 to April 1778), "a young Jewess of the name of Isaacs arrived in Calcutta to exercise the profession of miniature painting." She painted a miniature of Hickey which he sent to his favourite sister in England. Richard Barwell also patronised her. We find him writing on February 15, 1779, to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Elizabeth Sanderson: "As the most acceptable gift I can offer, I have desired Miss Isaacs to make a copy of the miniature Mrs. Barwell presented me with sometime before her fatal illness"; she died on November 9, 1778, at the age of 25. The registers of St. John's Church contain an entry of the marriage on July 5, 1779, of Alexander Higginson, Esqr., Member of the Board of Trade, and Miss Martha Isaacs, spinster. Four days earlier (July 1, 1779): there is the following entry in the register of baptisms: "Martha Isaac (sic). A person of riper years, renouncing the Jewish religion, baptised according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by the name of Martha." Mention is hardly again required, in connexion with the portraits of William Hickey, of the picture painted of him by George Chinnery in February 1808, and presented by the artist to Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice, whose clerk Hickey was. (See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 93: Vol. XXVII, p. 106). The disappearance of all portraits of Hickey is the more remarkable, as an engraving of one of them was included in the sale of Mr. Thomas Haviland Burke's collection at Christie's in June, 1852.

The full-length portrait of Colonel William Kirkpatrick, which now forms part of the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall, should no doubt be referred to this period of Hickey's career. An inscription on the frame states that the picture was painted by Thomas Hickey in 1780: but the date is obviously inaccurate. It was presented to the trustees by Colonel T. A. Harrison and originally hung in the Royal Military Orphanage at Kidderpore House which had once been the mansion of Richard Barwell. Kirkpatrick came out to Bengal as a cavalry cadet in 1773 and was Persian interpreter to Major-General Giles Stibbert (the provisional commander-in-chief) from 1777 to 1785. He left India in 1801 and died in England in 1812, having been gazetted major-general in the previous year (4). His connection with the Orphanage is thus recorded in a "History of Religious Benevolent and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity," which was compiled by Charles Lushington of the Bengal Civil Service and published in 1824 at the Hindostanee Press, Calcutta.

The Bengal Military Orphan Society owes its origin to the late Major General William Kirkpatrick who in August 1782 circulated proposals for its establishment to the Officers of the Army which, being cordially agreed to, with scarcely a single exception, were embodied into a set of laws in the month of March following, from which time the Society dates its formation (5).

It must have been about this period also that Thomas Hickey wrote the first volume of "The History of Painting and Sculpture from the Earliest Accounts," of which the authorship is attributed to him, and which was published in Calcutta in 1788. The absence of succeeding volumes is due to the fact that when in 1789 Mr. William Burke "left Bengal for Madras, the duties of his office of Paymaster General to His Majesty's Forces requir-

(4) There is another portrait of William Kirkpatrick, who was Resident at Hyderabad from 1795 to 1798, in the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was presented by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, together with the portraits of the following other Residents: Sir John Kennaway (1788-1795), James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the younger brother and successor of William (1798-1805), Capt. Thomas Sydenham (1806-10) afterwards Minister at Lisbon, and Sir Henry Russell (1811-1820), the son of the Chief Justice.

(5) There were two schools—an upper and a lower. Both were originally housed in "Levett's House and Garden" at Howrah (now the Magistrate's Court): which was purchased in 1785: but in June 1790, the upper school which was for the children of officers was moved across the water to Kidderpore House. The lower school which was for the children of European non-commissioned officers and soldiers, remained at Howrah until 1815 when after an outbreak of ophthalmia, it found a temporary home in the deserted cadets' quarters at Baraset. It was removed subsequently, says Lushington, to a building in Alipore "at a considerable distance from Kidderpore House." The house at Howrah is depicted in one of William Baillie's sketches (1784): "North-East view of the Military Orphan House, near Calcutta, for the children of officers." It is also to be seen in the background of a portrait in the Victoria Memorial Hall; which was painted by George Carter in 1784. The subject of the picture (which was presented by Colonel T. A. Harrison) has not been identified: but an envelope on the table is addressed to Thomas Henderson, Esq., Paymaster, Calcutta, and an Indian clerk holds in his hand another envelope addressed to the Secretary, Orphan House, Calcutta.

ing his presence in that place," he took the painter along with him. " This artist finding business upon the decline in Bengal, accompanied Mr. William Burke to Madras, where under that gentleman's patronage and warm recommendation he met with considerable encouragement." (William Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III p. 349).

Burke's parting gift to William Hickey (6) was " an admirable bust of Edmund Burke, executed by John Hickey, brother to the portrait painter Thomas Hickey (7) " and " a picture painted by Thomas Hickey, being small size whole lengths of Mr. Edmund Burke and Mr. Charles Fox, in which the former was represented as reading the famous India Bill prepared and brought into prominence by the latter." The " statuary " won the admiration of William Hickey who describes it as a work of " admitted merit and talent." But he was not so well pleased with the painting. " It was but an indifferent performance, yet valuable to me from the transcendent abilities of the two statesmen." Notwithstanding this tribute to the Whig leader, we find the name of William Hickey some years later in a list of Calcutta subscribers to a statue of his great rival Pitt (*Calcutta Gazette*, January 20, 1803). The sum given was Sicca Rs. 48.

Thomas Hickey did not stay long in Madras upon this occasion but it has proved difficult to trace his return to England. The India Office records contain no separate passenger lists for the period, and the only resource was to go through the St. Helena Proceedings for the entries of Indiamen mustered there, from 1789 to 1792. Mr. Foster's search was rewarded by finding among the passengers on board the *Prince William Henry* (803 tons, Capt. Ralph Dundas) a certain " Mr. Hickey." The ship's log shows that she left Calcutta early in January 1791, and Madras a month later, and that she arrived in the Downs on June 30, 1791. No list of passengers has, however, been discovered and there is no mention of Hickey as embarking either at Calcutta or Madras. We know nevertheless, that Hickey did return to Europe about

(6) The connexion between William Burke and William Hickey was always a close one. Burke had a house and forty bighas of land at Kidderpore on the river-bank: and on May 1, 1801, William Hickey, as administrator of his estate, sold the property to the Hon'ble Company for sicca Rs. 30,000. (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 193, 194). Edmund Burke, on being appointed in 1782 to be Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces out of Great Britain, excepting Ireland, had nominated his kinsman William Burke as his Deputy in India.

(7) John Hickey was four years older than his brother Thomas. He came to London in 1777 and won the Academy Gold Medal next year. Edmund Burke patronized him, and he was appointed sculptor to the Prince of Wales, but he took to drink and died in his lodgings in Oxford Street on January 13, 1795, at the age of thirty nine. A commission to execute a monument to Garrick had just been procured for him by Burke. " An old friend of Garrick's proposed to be at the sole expence which was proposed as he understood to be about £600, and Hickey was recommended by Burke as one well qualified and will do it on very reasonable terms " (*Farington Diary*, January 16, 1795). In a letter to Albany Wallis, the friend in question, Burke wrote: " If poor Hickey had been spared to us, I should not have preferred any sculptor living to him. But he has gone, and I do not know anyone more fitted to fall in with your views than Mr. [Thomas] Banks " (R.A. 1785-1805).

this time, for he exhibited the "Portrait of a Nobleman" at the Royal Academy in 1792.

We hear of him next in connection with Lord Macartney's diplomatic mission to China, which left London on September 26, 1792 in the *Lion* man of war of 64 guns, under the command of Captain Erasmus Gower (8). The mission was sent to inquire into exactions and bad treatment of Englishmen by the Chinese. It was sumptuously entertained by the Chinese Viceroy at Canton in December 1793 and returned to England in September 1794. Much information was collected, but the Emperor refused to allow a British Minister to reside in China. Hickey and another artist of the name of William Alexander were appointed to accompany the mission (9). How came Hickey to be attached to it? We can only surmise that he renewed the acquaintance with Lord Macartney which he must have formed when that nobleman came to Calcutta in 1785 upon his resignation of the Governorship of Fort Saint George. (See *Memoirs of William Hickey*, Vol. III p. 268, and Appendix B. *post*).

The story of Lord Macartney's mission was told by his Secretary, Sir George Leonard Staunton, Bart (1737-1801) under the following title: "Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, including cursory observations made, and information obtained, in travelling through that ancient Empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary: with a voyage to the Yellow Sea, and the Gulf of Pekin, as well as their return to Europe: taken chiefly from the Papers of the Earl of Macartney: with portraits of the Emperor Tchien Lung, and Lord Macartney, and numerous small engravings on copper." The first edition (2 vols 4to) was published in 1797 and a second edition (corrected) in the following year (10).

(8) William Daniell, R.A., exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1836 a picture entitled "The Watering-place at Anjere Point in the Island of Java: the homeward bound China fleet in 1793 at anchor in the Straits of Sunda under the command of Sir Erasmus Gore in the 'Lion' man of War." The date should be 1794. It was on March 17, 1794 that the ships laden at Canton for the English East India Company, assembled for convoy home by the *Lion*, "under the little island of Samcock, near Macao." On April 19 they put to sea. The Indiamen were fifteen in number and carried "embarked property to the value of three million sterling." The protection of the *Lion* was sought, because despatches from Batavia announced the arrival from the Isle of France, in the Straits of Sunda, "in the direct track of the China ships," of an enemy squadron, and the capture of two Indiamen—the *Princess Royal* on September 29, 1793, and the *Pigot* on March 11, 1794. As regards the watering-place at Anjere, Staunton (Vol. II, p. 597) records: "In the Straits of Sunda, the fleet completed its stock of wood and water, on the Java side." It is possible that William Daniell and his uncle came home from Canton in one of the Indiamen thus escorted.

(9) Mr. William Foster has ascertained that on February 8, 1792, the Directors granted as application by Hickey for permission to return to Bengal as a portrait-painter. But he undoubtedly accompanied Macartney, for the names of Thomas Hickey and William Alexander, "draftsmen," appear in a list given in the St. Helena Consultations for July 7, 1794, of persons returning from China on the Company's ship *Hindustan*, which was being escorted by the *Lion*, and reached England in September, 1794.

(10) Pitt, when he was asked whether any advantage was derived from Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, replied, "rather dry and sarcastick," that "there was none that he knew



The frontispiece to the second volume consists of an engraving by J. Hall, "engraver to His Majesty," of a portrait of Lord Macartney. by Hickey (11). Beyond this there is nothing of his in either volume, such woodcuts in the body of the work as are distinguished by the name of an artist, bearing the signature of Alexander. But here and there references to Hickey may be found in the text. Thus at page 84 of the second volume we read, in connexion with the temple and monastery at Tong-choo-foo, near Peking, which were allotted for the accommodation of the "Embassador" and his suite :

Mr. Hickey, painter to the Embassy, notices this building in the following terms : " It is situated on a rising ground, of gentle ascent, about half a mile from the river, and close to the suburbs of Tong-choo-foo, and is encompassed with a high wall, in which a small door, opposite to the river, was guarded upon the occasion by Chinese soldiers : and before it was a tent, containing a band of musicians, to play whenever the Embassador, or principal persons of the Embassy, passed by them. From this door, through several courtyards and low buildings for domestic uses, a passage led to those particularly consecrated to the exercises of religion. They were separated from the others by a wall, in which was an opening of the exact form of a circle. The diameter was about eight feet. Beyond this circular opening were two places or halls of worship, situated opposite to each other, between them was a spacious area : and before each was a portico supported by wooden columns, painted red, and varnished. The diameters of those columns were small in proportion to their length. They tapered slightly from the base to the capital, which was little ornamented, except with gilding. The base rested simply, like the ancient Doric, upon the floor. The halls of worship were of the whole height of the fabric, without any concealment of the beams or rafters of the roof. They contained several statues of male and female deities, some carved in wood and painted with a variety of colours, mostly of modern and indifferent workmanship : others were of porcelain."

It is odd that this detailed description should be unaccompanied by any

of except Sir George Staunton's book," (Farington Diary, December 30, 1806). But there was another tangible result in the famous Chinese wall paper which was sent to the original Mr. Coutts of Coutts' Bank, and which may still be seen in their house in the Strand.

(11) This is not the portrait which is reproduced in the third volume of Colonel H. D. Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras" (p. 228). That is by Ozias Humphry and was engraved by Joseph Singleton for the "European Magazine." There is no portrait of Macartney in the collection at Government House, Madras : but there is an engraving by George Townley (1792) from a portrait by S. De Koster. Macartney was painted also by Mather Brown, and the picture was engraved by Henry Hudson : a copy of the print is in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. The portrait in the National Portrait Gallery of "Lord Macartney in conference with his Secretary," Sir George Staunton, is the work of Lemuel F. Abbott, who died insane in January, 1803. Abbott's fine painting of Warren Hastings in his old age is one of the chief treasures of the Victoria Memorial Hall.

sketch: but not even in the folio volume of plates will there be found any representation of the temple and its interior by Hickey, or, indeed, any specimen of his draughtmanship. When the members of the mission were presented to the Emperor at the Palace of Zhe-hol (Cheng-te) "in Tartary," to the north of Pekin, the portrait of His Majesty Chien-Lung, "painted in the dress in which he usually appears when giving audience" is stated to have been taken by Alexander "by stealth." An engraving by Collyer, "engraver to Her Majesty," serves as a frontispiece to the first volume (12).

The only other reference to Hickey which is made by Staunton occurs at page 94 of the first volume, where in describing the outward voyage he relates that "Mr. Hickey ascended the craggy mountains to the north of the town (of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe) in the hope of getting an advantageous view of the Peak, but was prevented by the clouds with which it was wholly enveloped." Here again no sketch by Hickey is to be discovered.

Of some of Hickey's experiences in China, we get a glimpse in the Farington Diary, under date of November 20, 1796.

Alexander told me that Lord Macartney did not take either him or Hickey into Tartary when His Lordship visited the Emperor of China. They were left in Pekin in a House surrounded by a high wall, and they were not permitted to walk in the City. Lord Macartney regretted afterwards to Alexander that He did not accompany the suite to Tartary. Lord Macartney quitted Pekin at a short and unexpected notice: and went to Canton almost all the distance by water, chiefly on canals, in flat Bottomed Boats with apartments constructed on them very convenient. They were plentifully supplied with Beef, Mutton, Poultry, etc., every day from the shores. Alexander went about 600 miles in Company with Lord Macartney: but the remainder of the distance to Canton the suits separated into two divisions, when Hickey accompanied His Lordship, and Alexander was joined to the other party.

Singularly little advantage seems to have been taken by Hickey of his visit to China. There is a drawing by him of a Chinese scene in the print-room at the British Museum: but William Daniell seems to have utilized such materials as were not worked up by Alexander (13): witness the following entry in the Farington Diary under date of March 10, 1810—

(12) The original water colour drawing was presented in 1856 to the Royal Asiatic Society by the son of Sir George Staunton (who was a supra-cargo on the Canton establishment) and may be seen in the Society's rooms in Grosvenor Street, London.

(13) Alexander, according to an entry in the Farington Diary of December 19, 1802, was later on "established at Marlow as drawing master at the Military College by my recommendation": and "was employed during the vacation in copying the Egyptian antiquities at the Museum which he means to publish." In a later entry, on January 25, 1808, we read: "Alexander told us that while he was at Rio de Janeiro at the Brazils, on His voyage to China with Lord Macartney, he made a Panoramic view of that City and its vicinity—which drawings Barker of the Leicester Square Panorama is to have the use of . . . and has engaged to give Alexander 70 guineas for the use of the drawings." He was subsequently appointed Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.

William Daniell I called on, and saw His picture of the progress of the Tea Plant from its growth to being put in Chests to be conveyed to England. He sd. Mr. Barrow who was with Lord Macartney in China and is now under Secretary at the Admiralty, has drawn up an acct. of the Plant at Wm. Daniell's desire.

The painting, which consisted of ten sketches, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the same year (1810). In 1806 and 1808 Daniell had already shown two pictures of "The European Factories at Canton in China:" and he sent to the British Institution in 1836 (a year before his death) "A Chinese Lady of the province of Ningpo."

Hickey did not remain long in England. On August 2, 1797, the Directors granted an application from him for permission to return to India to practise his profession: and on February 28 following they acceded to his further request that he might be allowed to take out his two daughters. He must have left for India in 1798, as the list of Madras residents for January, 1799, contains his name. On October 17 of that year (1799) he was announcing in the "Calcutta Gazette" that he had undertaken "under the patronage of the Earl of Mornington, K. P., Governor-General of India and of Lord Clive, Governor of Fort Saint George," to paint the seven following pictures "from the details of the Victory [of Seringapatam] on the 4th of May, 1799, and the successive events connected with it," and that engravings of the pictures would be executed by "eminent artists in London":

The storming of the breach at Seringapatam:

The interview with the Princes in the Palace.

The finding of Tippoo's body.

The first interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah. (13A)

The Funeral of Tippoo.

The reception of Lieutenant Harris with the colours of Tippoo in Fort Saint George (14).

The placing of the Rajah on the Musnud of Mysore.

The price of the series of engravings was stated to be sicca Rs. 135, and intending subscribers were invited to address themselves to Messrs. Gardiner, Moscrop and Co. Calcutta.

Neither engravings nor pictures appear to have proceeded with (15): but he did paint a full length portrait of the Earl of Mornington (Lord Welles-

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(13A) Krishna Raja Wadiar, who was placed on the throne by the British.

(14) The Mysore Standard, and a French Republican Tricolour which was captured at Seringapatam at the same time, were brought to Madras by Lieut. William Harris, the son of Major-General George Harris, the Commander in chief, presented to the Governor-General in the Fort Square, and ultimately handed over to the King at St. James's Palace on January 23, 1800.

(15) More success seems to have attended a venture advertised on March 13, 1800. Proposals were announced by Messrs. Cockerell Traill and Company, of Calcutta for publishing by subscription two prints to be engraved by Anthony Cardon from pictures to be painted by H. Singleton: the one representing "the assault of the Mysore capital," and the other

ley) at the request of the principal inhabitants of Madras, and it was exhibited at the Exchange in that city on May 4, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam.

The following account of the picture (16) and of the ceremony which accompanied its exhibition, appeared in the *Madras Gazette* and is reproduced in Seton-Karr's "Selections." (Vol. III, p. 264):

A royal salute was fired from the walls of the garrison of Fort Saint George on Sunday the 4th current [May] at noon, the same being the Anniversary of the capture of Seringapatam. A whole length picture of the Earl of Mornington, which has been painted by an eminent Artist, at the request of the principal inhabitants of the Presidency, was opened on the same morning for public inspection at the Exchange: a circumstance naturally connecting itself with the recollection of the day.

His Lordship is represented in his Windsor uniform with the insignia of the order of Saint Patrick, seated at a table, having a scroll spread on its surface, pendant somewhat over the side, on which is inscribed the heads of the Partition Treaty. In the background is seen the steeple and Flag Staff of Fort Saint George, with the English Union, flying over the Standard of the late Tippoo Sultan.

His Lordship is supposed to be seated in the east verandah of the Government House (17), which has afforded the Artist an opportunity of availing himself, with a fair license, of the happy incident which we have last noticed.

This superb picture, which in point of design and execution, does no inconsiderable credit to the pencil of Mr. Hickey, is placed in a magnificent frame, at the southern extremity of the Exchange, opposite to the picture of Marquis Cornwallis (by Robert Home).

On Monday evening, the 5th current, the Right Hon'ble the Governor [Edward, second Lord Clive: first Fare of Powis, and Governor from 1798 to 1803] gave a splendid ball and supper to the ladies and gentlemen of the Settlement, in commemoration of the great and happy occasion to which we have above referred.

The following description of the picture (which is reproduced opposite page 142) is given by Col. H. D. Love in his "Descriptive list of Pictures at Government House, Madras." (1903):

"the surrender of the two sons of Tippoo Sultan to the troops surrounding them." Copies of the latter print may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall, and also at the India Office. The original price to subscribers was sicca Rs. 20: proof impressions, sicca Rs. 40.

(16) Dimensions 7 ft. 1 in. by 5 ft. 8 in. The best portrait of Wellesley is by Sir Thomas Lawrence. There are two by J. P. West in the National Portrait Gallery, one by Romney at Eton, and one by J. Hoppner in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. Two portraits which were formerly at Government House, Calcutta, have now been transferred to Simla and Delhi. The latter which is poorly painted is attributed to Home: the former is certainly his work. Lastly there is a portrait by an unknown artist at Government House, Ganeshkhind, Poona.

(17) The building is thought to be the Old Admiralty House in Fort Saint George.

The Marquess is represented seated in the south-east angle of the verandah of Government House in the Fort, his face and figure turned somewhat to the right. His right arm reposes on the arm of the chair, the hand hanging over; his left hand rests on his thigh. His handsome face, markedly recalling that of his younger brother Sir Arthur Wellesley, has an aquiline nose, small mouth and pointed chin. The penetrating blue eyes, looking out under dark eye-brows, are fixed on the spectator. The grey or powdered hair is brushed back. The figure is small, slender, and faultily drawn.

His costume is the Windsor uniform of the period :—a blue coat having scarlet roll collar and cuffs, with gold embroidered button holes; a voluminous white cravat; white waistcoat and breeches which are painted as if they formed a combination garment; white silk stockings, and black shoes. His legs are extremely attenuated. The pale blue ribbon of St. Patrick crosses his right shoulder under the coat, and the star of the Order is worn on his left breast.

The spectator, who is supposed to be facing south, sees, behind the Marquess, the balustrade of the verandah at the head of a flight of steps. The parapet carries an impossible urn. Over it is seen the upper part of the north front of St. Mary's Church, with the steeple on the extreme right. More to the left is the flag staff on the south-east angle of the Fort Square, from which flies the British ensign (the old Union flag) above the standard of Tippu Sultan which was captured at Seringapatam.

On the left of the picture is a square wooden table bearing a large document, loosely rolled and endorsed, "Partition Treaty of Mysore. Concluded 22 June, 1799." A portion of the paper hangs over the table displaying a long inscription. Above is a crimson curtain, bellying out in the breeze. The following are the words of the inscription :—

" And whereas it has pleased Almighty God to prosper the just cause of the said allies, the Honourable English Company Bahadur and His Highness Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadur with a continual course of victory and success, and finally to crown their arms by the reduction of the capital of Mysore, the fall of Tippoo Sultan, the utter extinction of his power and the unconditional submission of his people; And whereas the said allies being disposed to exercise the rights of conquest with the same moderation and forbearance which they have observed from the commencement to the conclusion of the late successful war, have resolved to use the power which it has pleased Almighty God to place in their hands for the purpose of obtaining reasonable compensation for the expenses of the War, and of establishing permanent security and general tranquility for themselves and their subjects, as well as for all the powers contiguous to their respective dominions. . . "

Lord Mornington arrived at Fort Saint George in April 1798 and sailed for Calcutta in H. M. S. *La Sybille* in September 1799.

In 1801 Hickey was painting, either at Seringapatam or at Vellore, the series of portraits of the family of Tippoo Sultan which were at one time at Barrackpore Park, and were transferred to Government House, Calcutta, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin (1884-1888). A full description of the pictures, which are now mostly at Belvedere, is given on a later page (Appendix A). Nothing appears to be known of the manner in which these pictures found their way, in the first instance, to Barrackpore. But it was no doubt Wellesley who obtained the pictures and had them hung in his "regal palace on fair Hooghly's stream" (18).

In the same year (1801) Hickey was called upon by (the second) Lord Clive, who was then Governor of Fort Saint George, to examine the two portraits of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte, which had been painted by Allan Ramsay for Their Majesties' Coronation in 1761 and were hanging in the Government Garden House at Guindy. Hickey reported that the pictures were beyond repair, but the Governor insisted upon an attempt being made at restoration, and the result exceeded the artist's expectations. The cost of repair was 500 pagodas, and the pictures were re-hung at Guindy on the last day of 1801. Four years later they were again in bad condition, and Lord William Bentinck directed Hickey to take further steps for their preservation. Repainting was determined on, and two similar pictures by Ramsay in the possession of the Nawab of the Carnatic at Chepauk Palace were used as guides (19). For Nawab Azim-ud-daula himself Hickey most probably painted the full-length portrait which was presented by the Nawab in 1803 to Lord Clive and carried by his Lordship to England. The copy of this picture which hangs at Government House Madras, was made by Thomas Day in 1820.

Among the best known of the other portraits which must have been painted by Hickey about this time is that of Josiah Webbe, of the Madras Civil Service (writer 1785) who was Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort Saint George from 1800 to 1801 when he became Resident at the Mysore Durbar (20). In 1803 he went to Nagpore as Resident and in the following

(18) "Tom Raw Griffin," canto VIII.

(19) These details are taken from Colonel H. D. Love's "Descriptive list of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras" (Government Press, 1903). Allan Ramsay's daughter, Amelia, was married in 1779 to Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, who was Chief Engineer in Bengal from 1768 to 1773, and Governor of Fort Saint George from 1786 to 1789.

(20) The removal of Webbe in 1801 from the office of Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George, was one of the measures by which the Directors marked their disapproval of the actions of Lord Wellesley. The Governor-General wrote bitterly that Webbe was removed "merely because he possesses a large share of the confidence of the Governor of Fort Saint George [Lord Clive] and because he adds to that crime the accumulated guilt of possessing an equal share of the confidence, respect, and esteem, of the Governor-General." (The Marquess Wellesley: by W. H. Hutton, Rulers of India series, 1908, p. 156.)

year to the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindia. He died on November 9, 1804, at Hussainabad on the banks of the Nerbudda. The portrait was engraved, and one of the prints was hung in the dining room at Strathfieldsaye the country home of the Duke of Wellington, whose estimate of Webbe was that "that man was one of the ablest I ever knew and what is more one of the honestest."

The name of Thomas Hickey appears regularly in the lists of Madras Residents until January 1807, when a gap occurs until 1812. The reason for the omission is supplied by the following advertisement which may be read in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 21, 1807.

Mr. Thomas Hickey, lately arrived at this Presidency from Madras, begs leave to acquaint his friends, to whom he was formerly known in Bengal, and those who may have had more recent knowledge of his practice in his profession as a portrait painter, that he means to resume it here and has taken a house in Ranny-moddy-gully (21) commodiously situated to that purpose.

Once more Hickey must have found that the atmosphere of Calcutta was not congenial to the exercise of his talents: for the list of Madras residents for December 1812 contains his name, with an intimation that he had arrived from Calcutta on December 13, 1812. The reason for his return was that the condition of the pictures in the Exchange had become so bad owing to the action of the sea-air (22) that he was invited to restore them. It was intimated to him under the authority of the Governor, Sir George Barlow, that a sum of two thousand pagodas would be paid to him, and he had hopes, which were subsequently disappointed, that he would be selected to paint the picture of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief, who had returned from his victorious campaign in Java and had in 1811 consented to sit for his portrait (23).

On his arrival in Madras, Hickey was installed in a portion of the Exchange which was partitioned off to serve as a studio. He found however that, what with a Court Martial room on one side and a Mess-room on the other, it was impossible to work: and he secured a house in San Thome which had lately been occupied by Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the first Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras (24).

(21) Now known as British Indian Street. It was the scene of a "frenzied fight" during Seraj-ud-daula's attack on Calcutta in 1756. In Upjohn's map (1793) the name of this street is given as Rāṣa Madda Lane.

(22) Until the construction of the harbour began to push out the foreshore, the sea washed the revetment and the spray drove into the windows of the Exchange—Love.

(23) The portrait of Auchmuty, which hangs in the Banqueting Hall, was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1815.

(24) Upon the establishment of a Supreme Court in Madras in 1800 Sir Thomas Strange, the former Recorder, was appointed Chief Justice, and Sir Henry Gwillim and Sir Benjamin Sullivan, puisne judges. Gwillim resigned in October, 1808 and died on September 12, 1837. An excellent story is told of him by Lord Minto who stayed at Madras with Lord and Lady William Bentinck on his outward journey to Calcutta in 1807. Prickly heat is the theme. "To give you a notion of its intensity" writes Lord Minto, "the placid Lord William has







SIR EYRE COOTE.  
(From the Picture by Thomas Hickey in the Banqueting Hall, Madras.)

When Mrs. Fay visited Madras in 1796, she had seen in the Exchange full length portraits of Cornwallis, Major-General William Medows, and Eyre Coote—all of them the work of Robert Home: but the number had been increased by two. Hickey's own portrait of Lord Wellesley was added, as we have seen, in 1800: and the latest acquisition was an interesting equestrian portrait of Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, painted in 1807 by John Hoppner, R.A. (25). It was not long before Hickey was able to report that he had "nearly brought to a close the restoration of four." The fifth painting, says Hickey, "which is that of Sir Eyre Coote, has been reduced to such a desperate condition as to leave but traits so faint, so shattered and imperfect for my guidance, as to render inevitable the painting of the picture entirely anew upon the canvass." It had originally been painted by Home in 1795, and as Coote died in Madras in 1783, was probably a copy of the picture by Nathaniel Dance R.A. which was then in possession of General Claude Martin at Lucknow. Colonel Mark Wilks, in his "Historical Sketches of the South of India" (3 vols. 1810-1817) writes with regard to it: "Coote's portrait is hung up in the Exchange at Madras: and no sepoy who has served under him ever enters the room without making his obeisance to Coote Bahauder." Hickey continues: "For this work (of repainting) it fortunately occurred to me that a gentleman at Calcutta, Mr. George Cruttenden, was in possession of a portrait of Sir Eyre Coote said to have been painted by Zoffani" (26). A loan of this painting was obtained and a study of the head made from it.

Slow progress was however made with the work: and in 1821 a committee was appointed and reported in July of that year that the new picture of Sir Eyre Coote was in a state of considerable forwardness. Hickey had already discovered that "through the fragments of the picture ruined at the Exchange three native figures are discernible in attendance on the General, and a horse also appears introduced in the background." A payment of 1000 pagodas had already been made in 1812 to Hickey from the Lottery Funds, and a further payment of 2100 pagodas, in instalments of 1500 and 600, was now authorized from the same source.

The picture of Coote, of which we are enabled to present a reproduction on the opposite page, is thus described by Colonel Love:

been found sprawling on a table on his back: and Sir Henry Gwillim one of the Madras Judges, who is a Welshman and a fiery Briton in all senses, was discovered by a visitor rolling on his own floor, roaring like a baited bull."

(25) This is one of the few youthful portraits of the Duke of Wellington in existence. "His face wears a singularly calm and confident expression, notwithstanding that his grey charger, which possesses an off fore-leg of amazing length, plunges wildly close behind him."—Love.

(26) George Cruttenden came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1782 in company with his relative Robert Pott, the friend of William Hickey, and resided with him as a member of his "family" at Calcutta, Burdwan and Afzalbag, the Residency at Moorsshedabad. He retired from the Army as a Major in 1809 to join the firm of Cruttenden, McKillop and Co. and died at Macao on March 23, 1822, at the age of fifty four. There is a monument by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., to his memory in St. John's Church, Calcutta.

The General, turned slightly to the left, stands bare-headed in the open. His right arm is bent across his body with the hand on his sword hilt. With his left hand he supports the scabbard. He has a thin, worn, anxious face, with narrow pointed chin, and rather low forehead; the face is clean shaven, and he has grey or powdered hair. He wears a long collarless scarlet coat with wide blue facings bearing gold embroidered button-holes, two epaulettes, white waistcoat with flaps and flap pockets, white pantaloons and black riding boots. The coat buttons are arranged in threes on each lapel and there are embroidered chevrons on the sleeve. A frilled shirt appears beneath a white cravat. Across his right shoulder he wears a gold embroidered cross belt under which the broad ribbon of the Bath is visible. He wears the star of the Order on his left breast.

At Sir Eyre Coote's right and a little in the rear is his Indian orderly, a non-commissioned officer of Light Infantry, holding the General's cocked hat and telescope. The orderly wears a scarlet cut-away coat with waist sash and cross belt. The collar, cuffs and shoulder wings are yellow or buff. He has bare legs and feet, and white cotton "half-drawers." His headdress is a dark flat turban, folded hat shape, drooping over his right ear.

On the right of the picture an Indian servant in white kneels to fix his master's spurs. In the rear the General's charger and syce are dimly seen.

The background consists of a large spreading tree on the right, and the sky on the left. Between the General and his orderly some palms are visible in the distance (27).

The five pictures were removed to the Banqueting Hall about the middle of 1822, and a pension of Rs. 150 a month was granted to Hickey. His fame as a painter reached the ear of Sir Thomas Munro, who writes to his sister on October 9, 1822 from "Camp near Nellore :—"

If old Hicky (sic) at Madras were twenty years younger, I had rather have your picture by him than any English painter, for none of them ever gave a true likeness of a lady (28).

Bishop Heber, who visited Madras in February 1826, did not however, think very much of Hickey's handiwork or of the setting provided for it. He writes :—

(27) Dimensions 7 ft. 10 in. by 5 ft. A half-length by Zoffany, painted about 1773, is in the possession of Mr. Eyre Coote, at West Park, Salisbury. Copies of this picture are in the National Portrait Gallery and the East India United Service Club. In the India Office there is a full length by John Thomas Seton, and in the Oriental Club a three-quarter length by an unidentified artist, which was presented by Mr. Thomas Snodgrass, formerly of the Madras Civil Service.

(28) Lady Munro's portrait at Government House, Madras, was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1826 and it is noticeable that the left arm, which is hanging by her side, is abnormally long and appears to be out of drawing.

Government House [Madras] is handsome, but falls short of Parell [the old Government House at Bombay] in convenience and the splendour of the principal apartments. There is, indeed, one enormous banquetting house, detached from the rest and built at a great expense, but in vile taste; and which can neither be filled nor lighted to any advantage. It contains some bad paintings of Coote, Cornwallis, Medows, and other military heroes, all fast going to decay in the moist sea-breeze, and none of them deserving of a longer life (29).

The India Office possesses Hickey's portrait (size 23 in. by 15 in.) of Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who was Surveyor-General at Madras from 1810 to 1816, and from 1816 to 1821 at Calcutta, where he died on May 8, 1821, at the age of 68. Mr. Foster states in his catalogue that the picture was painted in 1816 at Madras. It was presented to the India Office by Mr. Henry Traill in June, 1822, and hangs in the Revenue Committee Room. On the back of the frame is the following inscription: "Portraits of Colonel Mackenzie (Surveyor-General of India) and of three distinguished Brahmins of the three leading sects in the South of India. The native holding the telescope is Kavelli Venkata Lakshmerjah, President of the Literary Society of Hindus in connection with the Royal Asiatic Society of London. In the background is represented the celebrated colossal figure of Buddha." The reference is to the Jain monolith, 70 feet high, of Comateswara, at Shravan-belgola in Mysore, of which Mackenzie was the first to determine the exact dimensions (30).

The last stage in Hickey's career was reached on May 20, 1824, when he was buried at Madras. According to the Register of Burials kept at St. Mary's Church in Fort Saint George, he was 83 years and 6 days old at the time of his death (31). The tomb cannot be found in the cemetery.

H. E. A. COTTON.

(29) There had been some *contretemps* in connexion with a confirmation or visitation or other episcopal function, and this may perhaps account for the hypercritical attitude assumed.—Love, *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House, Madras*, p. 53.

(30) A reproduction of the picture has been given in *Bengal Past and Present*, (Vol. XXVII, p. 60).

(31) The register is signed by R. A. Denton Chaplain, but no other particulars are given. We are indebted to the Rev. C. E. de la Bere, the present Garrison Chaplain, for the trouble he has taken to trace the entry, and to furnish an extract. The record in the India Office (Mad. 9, 220) is as follows: "Madras 20th May, 1824, Thomas Hickey, Esqre, aged 83 years, was buried by the Revd. R. A. Denton."

## APPENDIX A.

## HICKEY'S PORTRAITS OF THE MYSORE FAMILY.

The following are the pictures painted by Thomas Hickey of the members of the Mysore family which were formerly in the collection at Barrackpore Park, and which after removal to Government House, Calcutta, have now been transferred to Belvedere (32):

(I) Moissuddin or Muiz-ud-din, the third son of Tippoo Sultan, and younger of the two hostages sent to Lord Cornwallis in 1792. Painted by Hickey at Vellore in 1801: size 2 ft. 5½ inches by 2 feet ½ inch. A half length picture of a youth in a sitting posture. His dress and turban are of light material. The cummerbund is of a reddish colour, and a brown *chudder* with a narrow ornamented border is thrown over his left shoulder.

Moissuddin was suspected of tampering with the sepoys in 1806, when a serious mutiny, which was only quelled by the timely arrival of General Gillespie, broke out at Vellore. He was sent to Calcutta on board the *Culloden*, and died there on March 30, 1818, at the age of forty-four. Lord Valentia (*Travels*, Vol. II, p. 401) visited him and his brothers at Vellore in February, 1804, and describing him as the eldest legitimate son of Tippoo, says that he was the only one who gave "a great deal of trouble" to Major Marriott, the officer in charge (33). He "spends all the money he can procure in buying dancing-girls, runs in debt, and even lately murdered a female who had been employed in the harem as a servant." Lord Valentia adds that all the sons, except the four eldest, "have only 25,000 rupees per annum, which they receive on their being fourteen years old," and mentions that since an attempt to liberate them, the family were "totally deprived of the liberty of quitting the fort," and that sentries were placed at each door. The garrison of Vellore, we learn from the same source, numbered 3000 men, including a strong detachment of Europeans.

(II) Sultan Muhi-ud-din, or Mohayood-deen, the fourth son of Tippoo. Stated by Col. Mark Wilks (*Historical Sketches of the South of India: 1810-1817*) to have been the only legitimate son: he died on September 30, 1811. According to Lord Valentia, there were, in all, twelve sons and eight daughters. The following inscription appears on the back of the canvas: "February, 1801 at Vellore. Sultan Mohay Deen, the fourth son of the late Tippoo Sultan: Thomas Hickey, pinxit." A half length portrait of a youth with dark eye-brows and a slight dark moustache in a sitting posture. He wears a turban of light material and a red *choga* with a narrow border to it. Under

(32) The description is taken from the late Colonel A. G. A. Durand's "List of Pictures at Government House, Calcutta" (Government Press, Calcutta, 1908).

(33) Major Thomas Marriott was the eldest son of Raudolph Marriott, of the Company's service in Bengal, who accompanied Verelst and Thomas Rumbold to Chittagong in 1761 and after acting as Chief of Beares in 1766, became Resident at Balasore.

the *choga* is shown a dress of light material with a dark waistband. Size 2 ft. 5 ins. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.

(III) Abdul Khalek, the second son of Tippoo and the elder of the two hostages sent to Lord Cornwallis: died December 1, 1807 at the age of thirty-four. Also painted at Vellore in 1801: size 2 ft.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. A half length portrait of a young man with a slight moustache. He is dressed in a *chapkan* over which is a light brown *choga* gathered in at the waist with a *commerbund*. His head-dress is a large turban.

Abdul Khalek was twenty, and his brother Moiz-ud-din (No. I) eighteen, at the time of their surrender in February 1792 (34).

(IV) Fateh Haidar: eldest son of Tippoo: surrendered to the British on his father's death at the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. Lord Valentia says of him: "Futty Hyder, the eldest but illegitimate son, has twelve or fourteen children. He, as well as his three next brothers, have Rs. 50,000 each per annum: a much larger sum than he really received during his father's life time, though he was nominally in possession of a larger jaghire. Yet probably he has lost more than any by the deposing of his family: for although Tippoo certainly did not intend him to succeed to the Musnud, yet, as he was the only one known to the troops and was by no means unpopular, it seems likely that he could have seized the succession. Futty Hyder conducts himself with the utmost propriety." His death on July 30, 1815 is thus recorded in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, August 5, 1815:—

Futtih Hydur, the eldest son of the late Tippoo Sultan, died at Russapugla, last Sunday morning. The funeral was attended by Colonel Hawkins, who has charge of the Mysore Princes, John Eliot, Esquire, and a great number of Natives.

The picture was painted at Vellore in 1801: size 2 ft.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. A life size half length portrait. He wears a moustache slightly turned up at the end and is dressed in a waistcoat of light material with two buttons, over which is a *choga*. The turban is of reddish material.

(V) Shukur-ullah: the seventh son of Tippoo Sultan, died on September 25, 1837. Also painted at Vellore in 1801. A three quarter length portrait of a boy standing with his left hand upon his hip and his right elbow upon a carved and gilded railing. He wears a dress of light material taken in at the waist by a band of the same material and has a large red *pagri* on his head. The wall forming the background is coloured and divided into panels by yellow lines. On the right is a niche in the wall.

(VI) Raza Khan. Painted at Seringapatam in 1801: Size 2 ft.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. by 2 ft. A half length life size portrait. He is dressed in a light *pagri* and

(34) An original oil painting entitled "The Marquess Cornwallis receiving the Hostage Princess" may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall. It is the work of Mather Brown and was painted for Boydell the publisher. The larger picture by the same artist is at the Oriental Club in Hanover-Square. The engraving by Daniel Orme, of which there are copies in the India Office and at the Victoria Memorial Hall, was taken from the smaller picture. See article in *Bengal Past and Present*, (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 5—7).

costume. A shawl of reddish brown material, with a yellow border is thrown over his arms. He wears a curled up moustache.

Nothing is known about Raza Khan beyond the fact that he was a confidential servant of some sort in the employ of Tippoo Sultan. In an unfinished note in the handwriting of Colonel William Earle (who was Military Secretary to Lord Northbrook from 1872 to 1876, and was killed at the battle of Kirbekan on February 10, 1885) it is stated that "he was the constant attendant of Tippoo Sultan and fell with him in the gateway of Seringapatam, but recovered from his wounds." General Stewart in his despatch of March 8, 1799, makes mention of "Mahomed Rezza the Binky Nabob," meaning thereby the commandant of the artillery (*benki*: Kanarese for fire). (34A).

(VII) Firoz Sut: chief eunuch in the service of Tippoo Sultan. Painted at Seringapatam in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. A note in Colonel Earle's handwriting conveys the information that he was in the service of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan for forty years. A half length life size portrait taken in a sitting posture. He is represented as a person of somewhat advanced years with a clean shaven face. His dress consists of a *jora* of blueish material, a white cummerbund and *pagri*, and a yellow *chaddar* with ornamented border which is thrown over his left shoulder.

(VIII) Badr-ul-Zaman Khan: Commander at Dharwar (in the modern Belgaum district) under Tippoo Sultan. Painted in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. One of Tippoo's most trusted generals: held the fort at Dharwar against a combined force of English and Mahrattas from September 1790 until he was forced to capitulate in March 1791. He is described in Major Edward Moor's "Narrative of the operations of the Mahratta Army commanded by Persseram Bhow against Tippoo Sulatun" (1794) as "a man of fifty-five, of good appearance and middle stature, with a handsome beard, dressed very neatly in white." In the picture he is represented with a shaven face. Half length, life size. He wears an embroidered *chapkan* and over it a brown *choga*, with an ornamented border. A portion of the cummerbund is visible. His headdress consists of a turban of light material.

The remaining six pictures of the series are at Viceregal Lodge, Simla. These are:—

(IX) Yasin Sahib: fifth son of Tippoo Sultan: died March 15, 1849. Painted at Seringapatam in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. A three-quarter length figure of a boy in a standing position, his right hand on the arm of a chair, over which a brown *chaddar* with an embroidered border is thrown: his left arm hangs at his side. He wears a large purple turban, and a flowing dress of light material with a reddish cummerbund.

(34A) This is the interpretation given in *Hobson-Jobson*. Mr. Abdul Ali, the keeper of the Imperial Records, thinks it unlikely however, that a Kanarese word would be affixed to the Urdu word Nawab. In his view, Binky is a corruption either of Bankay (dandy) or Bhenga (cross-eyed). Both the phrases, Bankay Nawab and Bhenga Nawab are in common use among Mahomedan all over India.

(X) Subhan Sahib: sixth son of Tippoo Sultan: died September 27, 1845. Painted in 1801: size 2 ft. 5½ in. by 2 ft. ½ in. A three-quarter length of a boy standing with his left hand resting on the arm of a chair, over the back of which a scarlet *chaddar* is thrown. He wears a large *pagri*, a *jora*, and a *choga* of light material with a cummerbund.

(XI) Ghulam Ali Khan, also called Ghulam Ali Khan Mir Sudur. Painted at Vellore in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. A half-length portrait. He wears a *pagri* and cummerbund of light material, and has a green shawl with a red border over his left shoulder, so as completely to hide it and his arm. He has a large dark moustache and dark eyebrows. In the picture by Devis of the surrender of the Princes he is represented with a black beard.

Ghulam Ali accompanied the hostages, Abdul Khalek (No. III) and Moizuddin (No. I) from Mysore to Madras at the end of the war of 1792 (Wellesley's Despatches Vol. II, p. 740). A high official of Tippoo's Court. He was chief member of an embassy sent to Constantinople in 1785, and went also to Paris as one of Tippoo's Ambassadors in 1788. He had lost the use of his legs and was carried about on a seat covered with silver, whence he became known to the English as "Silver Chair." Was associated with Ali Reza Khan (XIII) in negotiating the treaty concluded by Lord Cornwallis with Tippoo in 1792 (Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VII. p. 640).

(XII) The same. Painted at Seringapatam in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. A half-length portrait taken in a sitting posture with the right arm resting upon the arm of a couch or chair. He wears a loose dress gathered in at the waist by a cummerbund: over his right shoulder a shawl is thrown, the ornamented edge of which shows near his right hand: his head dress consists of a small *pagri*. He has a moustache.

(XIII) Ali Reza Khan. Painted at Vellore in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. ⅙ in. He was associated with Ghulam Ali Khan (No. XI) in negotiating the treaty of 1792 on behalf of Tippoo. Stated in Wellesley's Despatches to have been the Vakil from Tippoo with Lord Cornwallis (Vol. I, p. 571) and to have accompanied Tippoo's family to Vellore (Vol. II, p. 21). A half-length life size portrait. He wears a robe, the skirt of which is gathered in at the waist by a light red cummerbund. On his head is a small white turban. The beard is grey.

(XIV) Shaikh Hussain. "Had served the army commanded by Colonel Baillie, and after the unfortunate defeat of that Army, when the brave officers and men fell into relentless captivity by the orders of Tippoo (35) administered to them—at the hazard of his life—essential and persevering aid."

(35) Colonel Cromwell Massey, of the Company's service, who died at St. Lawrence, near Ramsgate, on September 6, 1845, at the age of 103, is described in the newspapers of the time as having been "a combatant on September 10, 1780, in the sanguinary battle of Periambaucum in Mysore [sic] against the forces of Hyder Ally, where he, with Colonel Baillie, Captain (afterwards Sir David) Baird and above 200 British soldiers were taken prisoners and thrown into Hyder's dungeons at Seringapatam where they remained captives for three years and nine months, when Hyder's death led to their release." Tippoo was in command of the Mysore army at the battle which was fought at Polliore, N. W. of Con-



(MS. note by Colonel Earle). Painted at Bangalore in 1800: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. A half-length life size portrait of a man in the prime of life, with the dark hair of his face un-cut. He wears a neatly folded red *pagri*, a dress of light material, and a light blueish cummerbund. A light brown shawl is thrown over the left shoulder.

In addition to the foregoing, the collection at Simla includes the following:—

(XV) Krishna Raja Wadiar, Raja of Mysore (1799-1831). Painted in 1801: size 2 ft.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. Was placed on the throne of Mysore by the British in 1799, as representative of the ancient Hindu dynasty. He was then about three years of age, and was not invested with sovereign authority until 1811. In 1831 he was deposed and died on March 27, 1868. A life size portrait of a youth taken in a sitting posture with his legs crossed under him. He is seated on a *gadi* covered with a scarlet cloth and surrounded on three sides by cushions. The elbow of the right arm rests on a cushion, the fingers being laid on the knee: the left arm rests upon the leg. He wears a *pagri* and clothes of light material, jewelled ear-rings and a pearl necklace from which is hung a *padak* studded with rubies and emeralds. In the *pagri* is an ornament of pearls, emeralds and rubies. On the forehead is painted the trident of Siva.

(XVI) Nanda Raj, maternal grand-father of Raja Krishna Raja Wadiar. Painted in 1801: size 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. Half length portrait with the head turned to the left. The beard is thin and almost white. He wears a *pagri* and *chapkan* of light material and over the *chapkan* a *chaddar* with a bright border. A portion of the cummerbund is visible.

(XVII) "A Young Chief." Painted by T. Hickey. size 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. A bust portrait, life size. Wears a furred and jewelled robe, freely painted. The face is turned in three-quarters to the right. The brown fur turban is surrounded by a jewel. A brown oval frame-work surrounds the bust (36).

jeeveram. Baillie died in captivity in 1782 and is buried in front of the Lal Bagh at Seringapatam. The west wall of the Darya Daulat Bagh, Tippoo's summer palace, is decorated with a crude and somewhat grotesque painting of the engagement, which was obliterated just before the siege of 1799, and restored firstly by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who used the palace as his residence, and later on by Lord Dalhousie. Another of "Tippoo's prisoners" was General Colin Macaulay, the uncle of Lord Macaulay, who acted as secretary to a commission which accompanied the army of General Harris to Seringapatam in 1799, and afterwards became Resident in Travancore. He left India in 1810, and his nephew, at the age of eight, wrote a "heroic poem" in which he sang the praises of "the hero who aided in the fall of the tyrant of Mysore, after having long suffered from his tyranny." (Trevelyan's *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 45.)

(36) This must be the picture to which Bhojanath Chunder alludes in his *Travels of a Hindoo* (London, 1869, Vol. I, p. 8) when, writing of Barrackpore Park in 1845, he mentions that the collection includes "the picture of a young Rajah of Cuttack, which has all the truth of an Oriya likeness." But it may be doubted whether the painting represents an Oriya at all, any more than the other portraits are those of "some Pindaree chieftains, in whose rugged features may be read the history of their lives." A similar misdescription occurs in

There remain two other pictures of members of the Mysore family, which are at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, and of which the authorship is attributed to Hickey.

(XVIII) Ghulam Muhammad: eighth son of Tippoo Sultan. Lived for many years at Tollygunge, near Calcutta, as a pensioner of the British Government, was created a K.C.S.I., visited England in 1854, and died in August, 1872, at the age of seventy-six. Erected and endowed in 1842 the fine masjid which stands at the corner of Dhurumtollah and Bentinck Street, "in gratitude to God and in commemoration of the Honorable Court of Directors granting him the arrears of his stipend in 1840." Presented this portrait of himself to Lord Dalhousie in 1853, to be added to the collection of Mysore pictures. It is supposed to be the work of Hickey, like the rest of the series, but if this be the case, it must have been painted at a much later date, for Ghulam Muhammad was born in 1796. Size 2 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. A half length figure, the size of life, in oriental costume, facing the spectator, with a red square-backed chair behind him. Both hands are seen. The dress is black, with tight-fitting sleeves, and he wears the peculiarly shaped cap of the Mysore family. The face is turned slightly to the right, the complexion sallow, and the hair and moustache black. A long chain hangs round the neck (37).

(XIX) Shahzada Muhammad Firoz Shah, eldest son of the foregoing: died in 1868. Size of canvas, 2 ft. 9¼ in. by 2 ft. 4 in. A three-quarter length figure, seated upon a small red chair, the elbows resting upon its arms, and his hands crossed upon his lap. He wears the Mysore family cap, with a jewelled star in front: and is dressed in a *chapkan* of dark material, with an ornamental border. The upper part of the dress covering the chest is of green silk, and round the waist is a blue sash with a silver border. It is difficult to accept the attribution of this picture to Thomas Hickey, even if we assume that it was painted by him in the last year or so of his life. The person represented has a very small black moustache, and can hardly be less than twenty years of age. This would place the date of Firoz Shah's birth in the year 1800, when his father was four years old!

an article in the *Calcutta Review* in 1845, in which reference is made to a series of portraits of the royal family of Oudh by Robert Home at Barrackpore Park.

(37) Shahzada Muhammad Furrokh Shah, who filled the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1891, was the grandson of Prince Ghulam Muhammad: and his son, Sahibzada Ghulam Mahomed Shah, followed him as Sheriff in 1913. Sahibzada Muhammad Bukhtyar Shah, Sheriff in 1900, was the son of Shahzada Muhammad Anwar Shah, whose father, Muniruddin, was the tenth son of Tippoo.

## APPENDIX B.

## LORD MACARTNEY.

George Macartney was born in 1737, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. From 1764 to 1767, he was Envoy Extraordinary at St. Petersburg, where he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland and held the office until 1772 receiving the Order of the Bath (K. B.). He then became Captain-General and Governor of the Caribbee Islands in 1775, and was created an Irish Baron in 1776. Defending Grenada against the French in 1779, he was made prisoner of war but soon exchanged (38). The East India Company having resolved in November, 1780, that persons other than Company's servants should be eligible for the Governorships of their Presidencies in India, Macartney was appointed Governor and President of Fort Saint George and arrived in Madras on June 22, 1781. In May, 1785, he found himself "utterly unable to carry on the Company's Administration under the Orders received for surrendering the Nabob's assignment" of the Carnatic revenues, and sent in his resignation. He offered, however, to go to Bengal to confer with Sir John Macpherson, who was then acting as Governor-General: and sailed from Madras on June 2. On reaching Calcutta, he was detained by illness and while still there received a despatch from the India House offering him the post of Governor-General in succession to Warren Hastings. He continued his homeward journey and arrived in England in January 1786, when the offer was renewed. It was refused, but a pension was accepted. In June of that year he fought a duel in Hyde Park with Major-General James Stuart, the successor of Eyre Coote as Commander-in-Chief in Madras, whom he had suspended from his command in 1783 and sent home.

The Embassy to China followed. Macartney sailed on September 20, 1792 and returned in September, 1794. An Irish Earldom was conferred upon him in 1794. Subsequently he conducted a confidential mission to Italy, and in 1798, was appointed Governor of the Cape. Returning in 1798, he declined the Presidency of the Board of Control. His death is thus recorded in the *Farington Diary* :—

March 31, 1806.—The Earl of Macartney died this evening at his house in Curzon Street: aged 68. He was created a Baron, July 10, 1776, a Viscount, August 8, 1778, and Earl, March 3, 1794, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and a Baron of Great Britain, May 28, 1796. His Lordship married in 1768, [Lady] Jane [Stuart], daughter of the Earl of Bute, but had no issue. The title is extinct (39).

Warren Hastings had no love for Macartney. Upon his appointment as Governor of Madras, Hastings "began a correspondence on a footing of un-

(38) Arthur Young in his *Travels in France* (Journal, June 6, 1787) mentions that the bishop of Limoges, where Macartney spent some time, said of him that he spoke French better than he (the bishop) could have conceived possible for a foreigner, had he not heard him.

(39) Lady Macartney survived her husband for twenty-two years.

bounded confidence " : but " at the very time when he professed himself my friend and solicited my advice, he made use of my letters as criminal charges against me" (40). On February 24, 1784, Hastings writes to his wife from Afzool baug (41).

I would give one half of my life for the certainty of beginning the other Half with you to-morrow. But I would not wish even for the immediate Possession even of such a Blessing at the Purchase of such a Mortification as to be thrust out of my Seat by such Fellows as Lord Macartney, Mr. Francis, and General Richard Smith."

William Hickey who had met Macartney in Madras on his way to Bengal in 1782, gives a most amusing account of his visit to Calcutta (Memoirs Vol. III, pp. 268, 269). Macartney, he says, "took up his abode with Mr. William Dunkin who was an old friend and fellow collegian" at Trinity College, Dublin, and who was subsequently a Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort Willim from 1791 until his death at Calcutta in 1797. He "came to Bengal greatly prejudiced against the European inhabitants for indulging themselves too much in what he considered extreme indolence and luxury, by constantly going about in carriages or palankeens instead of making use of their legs, as the less assuming residents of Fort Saint George did, and always had done." Another instance he gave of "the Bengal gentlemen's unnecessary extravagance" was "their using punkahs or hanging fans, suspended by ropes to the ceiling, to cool them while eating their meals." In vain was he assured that walking could not be ventured upon in Bengal, "the sun most certainly having an effect it had not upon the coast of Coromandel or in other parts of India," and that "no European could expose himself to its meridian influence without feeling the ill-effects and suffering materially in health." This he asserted was "a mistaken and absurd prejudice which at any rate, he would not give in to." He accordingly "sallied forth on foot, without either palankeen or a bearer with a *chatta*, contenting himself with carrying a small one in his own hand without deigning to open it. He was, however, soon compelled to do as other people did." By thus setting the sun at defiance "he lost his appetite, had frequent headache, a pain he never had previously been subject to, and one day in particular returned from one of his walks with a considerable degree of fever upon him, all which evils the physicians assured him arose from exposing himself to the burning rays of the sun." Being "convinced of his error, he ceased his walks and speedily recovered his health."

(40) On April 13, 1783, Hastings wrote to Macartney, informing him of his surprise at receiving from the Court of Directors, severe expressions of their displeasure founded on private letters addressed by him to his Lordship. Macartney replied on May 10. "Contemporary copies" of those letters are advertised in Mr. Francis Edwards' catalogue No. 464.

(41) S. C. Grier: *Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife*: pp. 258, 262. Afzul Baug was the British Residency near Moorshidabad: See *Memoirs of William Hickey*, (Vol. III, p. 277).

## The Mutiny at Vellore in 1806.

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*"The devil's abroad in false Vellore,  
The devil that stabs by night," he said;  
"Women and children, rank and file,  
Dying and dead, dying and dead."*

HENRY NEWBOLT.

A HUNDRED and five years ago this July (1) occurred the mutiny at Vellore, memorable in that it shook the tradition, deep-rooted in the hearts of all Indian officers, of the absolute fidelity of the Sepoys to their salt, and memorable also as foreshadowing in miniature the life-and-death struggle of fifty years later. That the tradition had power to revive, and thus to prepare the way for many of the most disastrous incidents of 1857, was due in part to the innate tendency of mankind to believe the pleasant rather than the unpleasant, but chiefly to the fact that the true lesson of the Vellore outbreak was speedily hidden by the dust of controversy. In India soldier and civilian were busy attributing blame one to the other, while at home the affair became a mere counter in a game with which it had but the slightest connection—the question whether missionaries should or should not be allowed in India.

The time and place of the outbreak were alike significant. In the previous year the Marquis Wellesley had been superseded as Governor-General by Lord Cornwallis, whose death after only three months in India left the senior Member of Council, Sir George Barlow, provisionally in power. Lord Wellesley's career of conquest, with the unavoidable expenditure it entailed, had roused resentment at home, and Lord Cornwallis's second term of office was undertaken for the express purpose of reversing his policy. Great was the joy of aspiring Indian rulers when Sindhia and Holkar were not only forgiven, but, as the phrase went, "compensated," for aggressions on British territory, and Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar plucked up courage to claim from Barlow the retrocession of Cuttack, to the possession of which Lord Wellesley had attached special importance, as it furnished a link between the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. The paramount power was evidently growing feeble, and it was a moment when a young man of spirit might with good hope of success make a bid for empire.

At Madras the Government was in the hands of Lord William Bentinck, a man of thirty-two, the youngest Governor hitherto sent out. An experienced soldier—he had served in Flanders and Egypt, had been in Switzerland with Suwarrow, and through the Marengo campaign with the Austrians—he had little in common with the typical civilian administrator who finds his natural enemies in the military authorities. With the civil members of his Council he was often at feud, but he appears to have been on the best of terms with his

(1) The article is reprinted, by permission, from the *National Review* for July, 1911.

Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Cradock or Caradoc, afterwards Lord Howden. Cradock had served on Abercromby's staff in the Egyptian campaign, when Lord William Bentinck commanded the cavalry, and they had also been together in the West Indies. The Madras Presidency would seem to have been a rallying-ground for old West Indians at this time, since in command at Arcot was Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, and at Vellore Colonel St. John Fancoudt, both of whom had distinguished themselves in San Domingo.

The significance of Vellore did not lie in the size of its garrison, which consisted of two battalions of Native Infantry and a detachment of His Majesty's 69th Regiment, but in the fact that, standing about midway between Madras and the Mysore boundary, it had been selected as the residence of the families of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan when the fall of Seringapatam destroyed the power of their usurping dynasty. The treatment of these exiles was "on a scale of very extensive liberality." Their abode was termed "The Palace," and they were under the paternal care of a special official known as the Paymaster of Stipends, whose duty it was to superintend the distribution among them of a sum not exceeding four lacs of pagodas (£160,000), in any one year. The holder of this office, Thomas Marriott, was a young soldier, who in 1792, when he had been scarcely a year in India, was entrusted by Lord Cornwallis with the honour of conducting back to their father the two hostage sons of Tipu. His skill in Oriental languages, his popularity with the people, and the high regard in which he was held by all the members of the deported royal family, had induced the Madras Government to frame a regulation—which was under reference to Bengal at the time of the outbreak—increasing his responsibilities. Hitherto the system of divided command had flourished gloriously at Vellore, the military authorities being responsible for the Fort, the civil magistrate for the Pettah, or town, and the Paymaster of Stipends for the Palace and its inhabitants, but it was now suggested that the police arrangements of the Pettah, in which lived the dependents of the Princes, should come under Marriott's charge.

To the accidental circumstance that Marriott's father was an old friend of Warren Hastings we owe a good deal of information not otherwise accessible. Early in Hastings' Indian career, when he was at Murshidabad in 1759, Randolph Marriott, Resident at Balasore, appears as one of his familiar correspondents. Marriott must have retired young, for in 1770 he writes from England to tell of his marriage. For many years his letters are few and far between, but in view of the cordial tone of the correspondence when it is resumed in 1806, and of the fact that his youngest son seems to have been a godson of Mrs. Hastings, it is clear that the friendship must have been uninterrupted. Three at least of his sons were soldiers, but the father's pride centres chiefly in the two in India, the younger of whom has just "made Himself perfect in the Language."

"I have the pleasure to say," writes Randolph Marriott on May 8, "we have recd. exceeding good accots. from our Young Men. The Major 'Thos.' is quite settled at Velore and Mrs. Hastings' Friend Charles 'now a Capt.' is

appointed his Deputy 'each with handsome Salary's exclusive of their Pay.' " On August 17th he says, "I have the further pleasure to inform you that my Son Thos. has just got a Lt. Col'cy; and that he hopes soon *Chs.* will be a Major—and will be appointed his Assistant in Charge of Tippoo's *Bibbys*." On December 3 he has received a letter written as late as May 29, confirming the news of Thomas's promotion: "When He had been 15 years in the Country, and some of the Officers of 22 and 23 Years Standing are yet only Captains. Lord and Lady Wm. Bentinck have been staying two or three days with them at Vellore. Out of six of ye. late Tippoo's Daughters the Coll. has got through the Marriage of Three and had commenced, a few days ago, with a fourth." This projected marriage was to have an intimate connection with the coming events which were already casting their shadows before, unknown either to the proud father at Worcester, the interested observer at Daylesford, or the wrangling Directors in London.

The news of the mutiny reached England in January 1807, and was received with mingled horror and incredulity. "When I heard the Vellore story," writes Baber to Hastings, "I immediately said it was the worst piece of news I ever heard from that part of the World, and the landing of a French Army would not have been so bad." "Not any official account of the Vellore Most Infamous Business—I cannot bring myself to believe it," says Toone in February. This discreet attitude of the authorities in India was copied by the Government and the Directors at home when the reports arrived—rousing the resentment of the unofficial public. Hastings writes: "I do not like to trouble Coll. Toone for Indian news, lest I shd. appear to tempt him to divulge wt. I ought not to know; but I want sadly to know wt. has been done, or is to be done, concerning the affair of Vellore." He could recall two similar but smaller mutinies during his own period of office—one at Vizagapatam in 1780, the other at Berhampur in 1782—both of which had been put down with signal success. He was naturally anxious to learn how the present rulers faced their greater task, and his interest was eventually gratified by the acquisition of three important documents—how and from whom obtained is not stated.

On the causes of the outbreak expert opinion was so sharply divided—civilians attributing it, like Sir John D'Oyly, to "those most absurd and impossible (military) Measures," and soldiers, whose opinion is expressed by Colonel Palmer, to "that Conspiracy in favour of the sons of Tipoo"—that it is best to allow the facts to speak for themselves. It was essentially a military mutiny, as distinct from an uprising of the civil population, and its occasion—not to beg the question by saying its cause—was a grievance felt by the Sepoys. Cradock, like other British generals before and after him, went to India with the intention of tightening the bonds of discipline in the Indian army. The variety observable in the appearance and equipment of the Sepoys distressed his soul, and he set to work to codify into a body of military regulations applicable to the whole army the regimental orders which were in vogue in the strictest corps. Specially important in his eyes was the follow-

ing, as quoted in the Report of the Mixed Commission :

It is ordered by the regulations that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear earrings, when dressed in his uniform; and it is further directed that at all parades, and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean shaved on the chin. It is directed also that uniformity shall be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip, as far as may be practicable.

The new code was duly laid before Government in January 1806, with the understanding that any order not hitherto generally in force should be marked for special attention. Whether by accident or design, this particular regulation was inserted among the orders already in force, which occupied a hundred and fifty folio pages. Through these Lord William Bentinck did not attempt to wade, and the new regulation became law without his noticing it, and was published in General Orders on March 13. It created such consternation among the officers of some of the corps affected that they delayed to communicate it to their regiments, and Lieut.-Colonel McKerras (afterwards killed), at Vellore, told his adjutant that he had determined to withhold it and abide the consequences. But Cradock's reforming zeal was by no means yet exhausted. Changes in dress, tending to assimilate the uniform of the Indian army to that of the European, such as the wearing of stocks and waistcoats, had already been introduced, and now an order was issued prescribing a new form of turban for all Sepoy regiments. It was to be "made, as formerly, of broad cloth covering an iron frame, with the exception of a cotton tuft, made to resemble a feather, and a leather cockade." This article "appears, indeed," says the report of the Mixed Commission, "to have been disliked by the Sepoys, but the material and leading objection respected the shape which . . . they compared to that of a tope, or European hat."

The issue of this new turban was notified to the troops in April, and the men, already disturbed by the rumours which had leaked out of the burden of the "Shaving Order," which they interpreted to mean that their whiskers were to be cut off, became "much displeased," and refused to wear it. On May 6 and 7 serious disorder occurred in the Second Battalion of the 4th N.I. at Vellore, and was repressed with the utmost severity. By a letter "conceived," says Lord William Bentinck, "in the highest tone of military authority," the Commander-in-Chief directed that the Indian officers were at once to make up and wear the turban, on pain of dismissal, that the non-commissioned officers who had headed the revolt were to be reduced to the ranks, and that the ring-leaders of the disturbances, numbering nineteen, were to be sent to Madras for trial. Cradock added that he "would not admit of hesitation" in carrying out his orders, and that he would send the 19th Dragoons from Arcot, if necessary, to enforce obedience. All the men sent to Madras were eventually pardoned but two, who received nine hundred lashes each in the presence of their battalion, and were "discharged from the Honourable Company's service, as turbulent and unworthy subjects." Discipline having thus been vin-



licated, Cradock thoughtfully consulted two men of high caste, "a Malabar and a Seid," as to the new turban, and having published their reassuring opinions to calm the minds of the troops, was much gratified to find that the mutinous battalion, now transferred to the capital, appeared on parade wearing the turban, "in as perfect and complete a state of subordination and good discipline as any other corps on the Madras establishment."

It is only fair to Cradock to state that he appears to have been totally misled by the Anglo-Indian officers on whom he relied for advice—or, at any rate, that knowing the man, they gave the advice which they saw would be agreeable. The "Shaving Order" was, they told him, already silently acted upon in all well-regulated corps, and one enthusiast averred that, so superior were his men to superstitious considerations, they would trample on their turbans if he gave them the word—much more wear any turban that he ordered. "I have no Patience with the old Company's officers, who could lend themselves to such a Measure," writes Toone; "and one of them outrageously persisted to the last Moment, that the order did not violate the Religious Prejudices of the Sepoys." The chief offender seems to have been Major Pierce, the Deputy Adjutant-General, "always adverse to the Natives, therefore a very improper Man to be in the Adjutant-General's office," says Toone.

In spite of the success of the disciplinary measures, the Commander-in-Chief was vexed by misgivings, and on July 4 the Governor in Council received a letter from him asking whether the "Turban Order" had not better be revoked. The turban itself was light and convenient, but the objection to it was universal; to impose it by force upon an unwilling army would create ill-feeling, and while it was undesirable to appear to yield to violence, Indians were peculiar-people, and must be dealt with accordingly. Cradock was ready, of course, to go on enforcing the Order, but he wished to be assured of the support of the Government. The real reason of this extraordinary *volte face* seems to have been the letters of warning received from several distant stations, testifying to the belief of the Sepoys and their Indian officers that they were to be compelled to adopt Christianity, but the Government, still ignorant that the turban was not the only cause of discontent, discounted these as the work of alarmists. Lord William Bentinck and his Council agreed that it would have been better not to issue the turban originally, but that, after the high tone taken in May by the Commander-in-Chief, it would be dangerous to withdraw it. As a compromise, they proposed the issue of a General Order assuring the troops that no change incompatible with their religion was intended. With another curious change of front, Cradock replied expressing his admiration of the proposed manifesto as a piece of literature, but thought it unnecessary to promulgate it, since he had satisfied himself that the opposition to the turban had been much exaggerated. The Order was not published, and while the Commander-in-Chief's letter was on the road, preaching peace and safety, the unexpected happened.

The Europeans at Vellore appear to have accepted without question the comforting assurance that the disaffection which showed itself in May was

purely temporary, and had been successfully stamped out, and the substitution of the second Battalion of the 23rd N.I. for the mutinous 4th seemed to safeguard them completely. But their case was unlike that of other stations. In the Palace were twelve sons of Tipu, many daughters and sons-in-law, other relatives, old Ministers and servants, and hundreds of women, and living in the Pettah were a huge train of male attendants, besides many faithful adherents of the vanquished dynasty who had followed it into exile, and the dependants, drawn from all parts of India, of the husbands of the Princesses. Did the Princes and their motley following incite the Sepoys to revolt, or were they merely willing to turn to their own advantage a discontent already aroused? The military authorities supported the former theory, the civil the latter. In any case, the strictest inquiry proved only two of them to be implicated—Tipu's third son, Moiz-ud-deen, and his elder brother Mohe-ud-deen. Their brothers were not taken into their confidence—a mere matter of prudence, since the elder princes could not be expected to encourage the designs of a junior whose first victims they must inevitably be. Lord William Bentinck stigmatises Moiz-ud-deen as a weak, foolish youth, possessing neither talents nor responsibility, while Gillespie is of opinion that "if a man is to judge by Physiognomy, the Prince Moyce-ud-dien's Countenance most decidedly convicts him." If the evidence given by Sepoy witnesses in fear of death, and stoutly denied by all concerned, is to be believed, there were intriguers surrounding the young man who were able to exploit his folly or his ambition for their own purposes. It was one of his people who first suggested a general insurrection, and a relative of his, a visitor from Delhi, discussed its near approach beforehand. His foster-brother carried to the Palace the news that many Sepoys and non-commissioned officers of both battalions had taken a triple oath pledging them to secrecy, to the rejection of the new turban, and to the restoration of Tipu's dynasty, and brought back a promise of increased pay.

The night of July 9 had been fixed for the wedding festivities of "Noor-ul-Nissum Begum," sister of Prince Mohe-ud-deen, with a Mysorean from Cud-dapah. These marriages, the arranging of which was so important a part of Thomas Marriott's duties, were the means of drawing large crowds from all parts of the country. Two suspicious circumstances in connection with Moiz-ud-deen's behaviour were afterwards remembered. He asked Marriott's leave to hold a *mardana*, or bachelor party, which meant that his male attendants and his cousin Haider Husain Khan would remain at the Palace all night instead of returning to their homes in the Pettah—an indulgence allowed only at the time of Muharram. When Marriott refused the request, as irregular and setting up a bad precedent, Moiz-ud-deen brought up the subject of a horse, which he was anxious to buy, though deep in debt. If he could not buy the horse, might he see and try it? To this Marriott consented, and it was brought to the Palace. Gillespie attaches importance to the fact that "a number of Horse-men appeared on the afternoon of the 9th with a numerous train of attendants, in different parts of the Town, behaving in a very riotous, disorderly manner, and sham fighting with each other," but their proceedings

would seem to have been merely the " Powder Play " which was part of the wedding festivities.

On this evening, July 9, Colonel and Mrs. Fancourt were expecting their friend Colonel Gillespie from Arcot on a visit. They were disappointed, for Gillespie received important letters from Government requiring immediate answers, and was forced to put off his journey till the next day. The events of the night are recounted in Mrs. Fancourt's narrative :

About the hour of two on Thursday Morning we were both awakened at the same instant, with a loud firing . . . Coln. F—went to the Window of his writing Room, which he opened and called aloud and repeatedly to know the cause of the disturbance—to which he received no reply, but by a rapid continuation of the firing by numerous Sepoys assembled at the Main Guard . . . I looked at my Husband, and saw him pale as ashes. I said, "Good God! What is the matter, my dear St. John?" to which he replied, "Go into your room, Amelia." I did so . . . I heard him two minutes after, leave the writing Room, and go out of the House. Between three and four o'clock, I believe, the firing at the Main Guard ceased, and the Drum beat, which I afterwards found was owing to my Husband's exertions to quiet the Sepoys (2). I heard no more firing for some time. It then began again at the European Barracks . . . I bolted all the doors in my Room and brought my Children into it. . . . I dressed and twice *cautiously* opened the Hall Door and felt my Way to the lower end of it to look where they were firing most—I perceived it was chiefly directed at the European Barracks. The last time I ventured from my Room between the Hours of four and five—as I stood at the lower end of the Hall, which was quite open to the Varanda—a figure approached me. It was so dark I could see only the Red Coat by the light of the firing at the Barracks. I was dreadfully frightened, expecting to be Murdered, and having left the Children in my Bed Room, dreaded *their* last hour was come also. I had however Courage to ask who was there, and the answer I received was, "Madam, I am an Officer." I then said, "But who are you?" to which the Gentleman replied, "I am an Officer of the Main Guard." I enquired what was the Matter—he said it was a Mutiny—that *every* European had already been Murdered on Guard *but* himself and that we should *all* be Murdered. I made no reply but walked away to the Room where my Babes and female Servants were. The Officer went out of the opposite door of the Hall were. The Officer went out of the opposite door of the Hall where we had spoken Together—and never got down Stairs alive, for he was Butchered most cruelly in Coln. F—'s dressing room. I have since heard his Name—Lt. O'Reilly of the 1st. . . . As soon as day light appeared, I went into Coln. F—'s writing Room and looked

(2) "Poor Col. Fancourt fell, in turning out the Main Guard, almost at the commencement of the Affray; when gallantly exerting himself under a very heavy fire."—Gillespie.

through the Venetians. On the Parade I saw some Soldiers of the 69th lying dead. Four Sepoys were at that moment on the Watch at Coln. Mariot's door, and several issuing from the Gates of the Palace . . . They were at this time firing on the Ramparts and apparently in all parts of the Fort—at least I heard them firing in *many* different places—though at the Main Guard and Barracks all seemed quiet. They were then employed in ransacking the Houses—entent upon Murder and plunder. I at this Moment gave all for lost . . . I heard a loud Noise in the Hall adjoining my Bed Room . . . and looking through the Key hole, discovered two Sepoys knocking a Chest of Drawers to pieces. I was struck with horror—knowing their next Visit would be to my Apartment . . . I whispered my Ayah that the Sepoys were in the Hall and told her to move from the Door. She took the Children under my Bed, and begged me to go there also. I had no time to reply, for the Door we had just left, was at the Instant burst open. I got under the Bed and was no sooner there than several Shots was fired into the Room, but although the Door was open, nobody entered. I took up a Ball which fell close to me under the Bed. The Children were screaming with Terror at the fire, but willing to make one Effort to save my Babes, I got from my hiding place . . . Desiring my Ayah to take my little Babe in her Arms, I took Charles St. John in my own, and opening the Door off the back Stairs, ran down them as quick as I could. When we got to the bottom, we found Several Sepoys on Guard at the back of the House. I showed them my Babes, and told my Ayah to inform them they might take all we had if they would spare our Lives. One of them desired us to sit down in the Stable with the Horses. Another looked very *surlly* but did not prevent our going there . . . We had not been seated five minutes before we were ordered away by a third Sepoy. He told us to go into the Fowl Houses which had a Bamboom front to it, and in consequence we were quite exposed to view till the same man brought us an old Mat, which we made use of by placing it before the door to hide ourselves, and afterwards the same Sepoy brought my little Boy half a loaf of Bread to satisfy his hunger. Here I suppose we sat about three hours—I in the greatest agony of Mind endeavouring to quiet my dear Children. . . . I saw the Sepoys from my concealment taking out immense loads of our goods on their backs—tied up in Table Cloths and Sheets—they all went by way of the Ramparts, which made me fear that had still possession of the works . . . I hoped for the arrival of the 19th Dragoons from Arcot—the few lines Coln. F.—wrote in his Room I *thought most probably intended* to be an express to Col. Gillespie (who was that Morning coming to spend a few days with us) but whether Coln. F.—had the means of sending off his dispatch, or not, I was quite ignorant—still however I thought the News must reach Coln. Gillespie on the road, by some means or

other—and hearing a tremendous Firing at the Gates strengthened my hopes that the Regt. was arrived. Our House appeared at this time quite deserted by the Sepoys, but suddenly several of them rushed into the compound, and called out (as my Ayah said) to find and murder me. She requested me to go into the furthest Corner of the Fowl House—which I did—taking Charles with me and covering him with my Gown. I had much difficulty to keep him quiet, he screamed so every instant, I expected. . .

Here the record ends abruptly, but a letter of Charles Marriott's copied by his mother for Hastings, gives further details :

On the 10th of July at 3 o'clock in the Morning, the Native Troops rose in Mutiny upon the Europeans of the Garrison, and as their attack upon the Barracks was quite sudden, and upon all the Guards at the same Moment, it was impossible to withstand their first fury. Several were killed on their Beds, and it was near 8 o'clock e'er the remainder of the Men (Europeans) could get out of their Barracks, being fired upon at the Door and through the Windows. . . I got a slight graze by a Musket—Shot fired at about 7 Yards distance from me—and Tom most providentially escaped unhurt. The Rebels broke into all the *Officers Quarters* and Murder'd every European they found. A Party of about 20 came into Ours, and although Two small parties came at different times, into the very Room where I lay concealed, through the Mercy of God they did not perceive me; but contented themselves with carrying off every thing they could lay hold on. As soon as all was over, we found we had lost 14 officers killed, and 4 wounded, excluding myself, and between 100 and 200 Soldiers killed and wounded. The Number of Europeans together was not 330 men, with only 6 Rounds a Man. The Natives 1,400 besides as much ammunition as they required.

The manner of Thomas Marriott's escape nowhere appears, which is the more tantalising since he was being specially sought for, Moiz-ud-deen refusing to move until he had seen Colonel Marriott's dead body. The horse the Prince had wished to buy was found standing saddled when the avengers arrived, but he and Mohe-ud-deen had taken no open part in the massacre, though their dependents are said to have helped to get out the guns and lay them, and encouraged the Sepoys to destroy the Europeans. They also hoisted on the garrison flagstaffs an old standard of Tipu's bearing his insignia, the sun in the centre, and round it "green tyger stripes on a red field," brought from Moiz-ud-deen's House, "and *Ding Ding* (Din ! Din ! ) was shouted from all quarters as it was hoisting," says Gillespie. It was deposed that the Princes then showed themselves to the Sepoys, ordered them "beetle," and presenting a sword 'o the son of one of Tipu's old generals, ordered him to attack the hill fort above the town in which Colonel Forbes commanding the 1st battalion of the 1st N.I., had taken refuge with a number of his Sepoys who remained loyal, and about thirty European fugitives. Not only the bad omen of Marriott's escape, but

the lack of support, appears to have withheld them from more active measures. Moiz-ud-deen had expected to be joined by four or five hundred men from the Pettah alone, but both Sepoys and servants were much more bent on plundering and escaping with their booty than on fighting. One witness testified that three hundred men were got together by one of the mutinous officers, but that when the Prince was summoned to join them, he refused to accompany so small a party.

This, then, was the state of affairs when Gillespie, who had received the news of the mutiny during his morning ride at Arcot, dashed up to Vellore with a squadron of the 19th Dragoons and a party of the 7th N.C. Colonel Forbes and his men were holding out in the hill fort, "resolved to maintain it to the last," and the main gateway was still in possession of its European guard of the 69th, now reduced to the last round of ammunition. At their head was Sergeant Brady or Brodie, "by whose unceasing exertions and genuine bravery," says Gillespie, "the remains of that Corps were kept together without an Officer, and continued to make most determined Resistance till my Arrival." This brave man, who had served in San Domingo, cheered his little band by assuring them, "If Colonel Gillespie be alive, he is now at the head of the 19th Dragoons, and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies to save our lievs in the East." In spite of their lack of cartridges, the presence of the guard on the gateway and the cavalier flanking it to the north allowed Gillespie and his party to reach the first gate almost unmolested, while the second was opened by some of the 69th who let themselves down with ropes.

We found on coming up close to the fourth or inner Gateway (says Gillespie) by the repeated Discharges of Musquetry against it, that it was commanded by the Mutineers, and having lost several Men in attempting to break the lock, I resolved to await the arrival of the Guns of the 19th, in order to blow it open. In the Mean Time, in order to encourage the brave Fellows above the Gateway, who having no ammunition had to trust entirely to the Bayonet, I deemed it proper, there being no Officer with them, to head them myself, in the Charge I intended to make in Concert with cavalry.—Accordingly I ascended the wall by a rope (3) and immediately occupied the Men in turning the Guns of the adjacent Battery upon the Palace, and whilst thus employed, the Gallopers came up, and prevented me from executing a Resolution, I had formed, of attacking the Arsenal, (where the enemy were very strong) with the Bayonet . . . Instantly on the Arrival of the Guns, I ordered Mr. Blackiston of the Engineers (from whom I received every support) to proceed in blowing open the Gate.—My order was most promptly and effectually obeyed, and at the first discharge of both Guns, the Gate flew wide (open) (4).—During this Operation, I descended the Rampart with the 69th Regt.

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(3) Sir Henry Newbolt's "They bound their belts to serve his need," is from the Memoir, which often differs from Gillespie's own account.

and with the Bayonet alone dispersed the Sepoys, who were formed in every direction, in order to clear the way for the Charge of the Squadron of H.M. 19th Dragoons, who, ably supported by the Native Cavalry, advanced at full speed into the Body of the Place . . . . At this moment the Enemy kept up an incessant Fire, and I have to regret the Loss of many of the 69th who were destroyed by it. I soon found myself gallantly and ably supported by the Main Body (of the 19th Dragoons and 7th N.C.) . . . The Enemy soon broke, and were pursued and cut up in every direction.—In about a Quarter of an hour the Fort was entirely in our possession . . . . Capt. Young had been most actively employed all the morning, in cutting off the Fugitives who were making their escape at the Sallyport on the South side.

The first task of the victorious force was to search for the surviving Europeans. On another portion of the ramparts a band was holding out, headed by two officers (5) and a surgeon, whose quarters were near the European Barracks, and who had managed to escape thither and fight their way out with the few men who had not succumbed to the fire directed at the windows and door. Colonel Forbes in the Hill Fort was relieved in the evening, and from various hiding-places fugitives crept out by twos and threes, among them Mrs. Fancourt, "in a deplorable State of Mind," says Gillespie, and the Marriott brothers. These were in time to prevent the commission of an atrocious crime. According to his Memoir, Gillespie wished to give up all the Princes to the vengeance of his troops, but was dissuaded by the entreaties of "some persons who had the care of them." They were all placed in strict custody, however, with strong guards posted over them, while a Committee sat "for the purpose of examining most minutely into every circumstance of this most diabolical Combination." There is a touch of unconscious humour in Gillespie's remark that when he visited Prince Moiz-ud-deen early on the following morning, "he and his family had been the whole night at prayers, a Thing very unusual"—but hardly unnatural in the circumstances. Not unnatural, either, was the attitude of the inhabitants of the Pettah, most of whom had fled. A proclamation of lenity and protection to all who were innocent, and an invitation to return, brought many of them back next day, but in a state of extreme nervousness, for dealing with which Gillespie was fully qualified.

I am sorry to say (he writes) a Rumour has spread throughout the Pettah, evidently by agents of the Insurgents, that fighting was going forward in most Garrisons in India at this moment, and that so near as at Arcot, the same scene is acting at present. At this instant I have sent another proclamation to the Pettah, to contradict all these ru-

(4) The "tremendous firing" heard by Mrs. Fancourt was probably the discharge of "The galloper guns that burst the gate."

(5) The Memoir says that they joined Brady's party on the gateway, but Gillespie is emphatic in declaring that these were "without an Officer."

mours and to warn them, that if they are again repeated, the Guns will be immediately turned upon them, and the 19th ordered to cut them up. I have also received intimation from many quarters, that a general rising is determined upon this night. I have doubled the Guards upon the Princes, taken every measure, that I think the exigency of the case requires, and shall not permit a black soldier to remain within the walls this night.

The unfortunate Princes must have felt safer when they were sent to Madras, since Gillespie's committee proved to its own satisfaction that they were entirely responsible for the mutiny. French emissaries, disguised as fakirs, had spread disaffection throughout all the garrisons, the revolt had been intended to be universal, and was only not so because the Vellore outbreak was premature, and in a few days the mutineers would have been joined by fifty thousand men from Mysore. There can be no doubt that the mutineers whom Gillespie took in arms and executed on the recapture of the fort richly deserved their fate, and those also who were executed subsequently when evidence against them came to light. There remained a body of six hundred, too guilty to discharge, and not guilty enough to hang. The fate of these wretched men was tossed about like a ball between the Governor, his Council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Bengal Government. Preserved from instant death by Lord William Bentinck until his mixed Commission of soldiers and civilians should report, they were placed in imminent peril by an outbreak of resistance to the new turban at Hyderabad on July 21. This was allayed at once by the prompt action of the Resident and Colonel Montresor, commanding the Subsidiary Force, in revoking the Turban Order, but the feeling of nervousness had now spread to the European population. The Mixed Commission reported that the primary cause of the Vellore outbreak was undoubtedly the military innovations, giving the second place to the residence of Tipu's family in the Fort, though rather as an occasion than a cause. But the belief in a general conspiracy, suggested by the report of the military committee, gained ground, and Cradock lent himself to deepen the excitement by sending to the Council the confession of one of the mutineers and a communication from a subadar of the Hyderabad Force, alleging that the Native Cavalry were disloyal, and that systematic efforts were being made to corrupt all the Sepoy regiments, with a view to setting up a Mussulman Government. There is every reason to suppose that the mutineer's confession was bought, as occurred in other cases, by a promise of pardon, and the subadar was afterwards identified by Colonel Montresor as a highly dangerous and disloyal character, but for the moment Madras was panic-stricken.

To send the Princes to Calcutta in custody, detain two European regiments which were just embarking for home, and demand fresh troops from Bengal, were the only steps that could satisfy the public mind. The Bengal Government, keeping its head with the usual disinterested coolness of the observer at a safe distance, expressed itself as delighted to welcome the Princes, but vetoed the other measures proposed, as showing a want of confidence in



the native army. Sir Edward Pellew (afterwards Lord Exmouth), the Admiral on the station, offered his own flagship, the *Culloden*, for the conveyance of the Princes to Bengal, and the ten eldest sailed under Thomas Marriott's charge at the end of August. Public attention then focussed itself on the six hundred mutineers awaiting trial, which they were long in obtaining. A general Court-martial of Indian officers was the tribunal finally selected, but the difficulty of deciding the respective degrees of guilt of such a large number of prisoners proved insuperable, and their fate was once more left in suspense, the Bengal Government recommending a general amnesty, Cradock demanding a general banishment, and Lord William Bentinck preferring a short term of imprisonment. In the clash of conflicting jurisdictions, it was his view that ultimately prevailed, for the luckless six hundred remained in prison until Lord Minto touched at Madras on his way to Calcutta to take up the post of Governor-General in 1807, and were then released.

In the meantime, the unsettled condition of affairs was exercising a most disastrous effect on the morale of the European officers of the army. Hitherto, says Lord William Bentinck, "the confidence of the European officers in the affection of their Sepoys had been literally unlimited, and, indeed, found more than its justification in a fidelity which had stood the proof of a series of years, and of a vast variety of fortune." Now this confidence was wrecked, and a distrust equally unlimited took its place, leading to some curious incidents. The officers, displaying a feverish vigilance against surprise, became "more ingenious in discovering conspiracies than wise in preventing them." One of them actually went mad with terror. At Wallajahbad, at the end of July, the 1st Battalion of the 23rd N.I. was suspected of intending to mutiny. It was separated from the other troops, and the assistance of Colonel Gillespie was requested—"assistance which was afforded with the promptitude characteristic of that officer." Cradock himself came to investigate the affair, but could discover nothing suspicious save "the irregular tumults at the Barracks, and the loose expressions of individuals, and something of a general mysterious conduct." In October the commanding officer at Nundydroog sniffed mutiny in four companies of the 2nd Battalion of the 18th. With great presence of mind, he and his subordinates "barricaded" themselves into a house, and sent to Arcot for the indefatigable Gillespie, who hastened to relieve and withdraw the beleaguered garrison, but nothing happened. Things grew worse and worse, for the panic of the officers suggested treachery to the Sepoys, and the usual "preaching mendicants" made their appearance to announce the approaching end of British power. In Travancore the commanding officer deprived all his Indian troops of their weapons, apologising to them for the indignity. Lord William Bentinck and his Council promptly restored the arms and court-martialled the Colonel, but he was honourably acquitted by his brother officers. Even Cradock felt it necessary to issue a circular letter deprecating needless terrors when further groundless alarms occurred, among them a second at Wallajahbad. But the tragi-comedy reached its highest point at Palamcottah, where the commanding officer disarmed the Mussulman Sepoys and gave

weapons to the Hindus, taking the latter with him into the fort. "From this devoted situation he dispatched expresses to the Commander of the subsidiary force in Travancore, and to Major-General Maitland, Governor of Ceylon," to the effect that he had discovered a desperate conspiracy extending all through the Coast, that the Company's dominion depended on instant assistance, and that he and his brave companions were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of the ladies who had taken refuge with them in a large house." Maitland sent help promptly, but thought it his duty also to despatch a vessel direct to Europe with the alarming news, and by the irony of fate, it was this absurd alarm that led to the recall of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Six months passed, the obnoxious orders had been withdrawn, and "the panic wore away; the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion; and the Officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows."

From wrangling over the fate of the mutineers, the civil and military authorities returned to the congenial task of apportioning the blame for the mutiny. Cradock and his advisers needed a scapegoat, endeavouring, says Thomas Marriott, "to throw the Blame from themselves, and I was the likeliest Person to fix it upon, from my Charge of the Princes."

To his honour, Lord William Bentinck refused to sacrifice his subordinate, and "although," writes the young man, "the Investigation of my Conduct was carried on during my absence in Bengal, when I could not defend myself, I have been acquitted by the *special Commission*, by the *Madras Government*, and lastly by the *Supreme Government* of Bengal." In Bengal, indeed, he was "vastly well received by Sir George Barlow, Lord Lake, and all the principal People.—Those have both order'd a Knife and Fork for me, whenever disengaged; and besides this, not only fitted up one of the best Houses for me with furniture from the Government House, but order'd Servants, Meat, Drink, &c., at the public Expence." This was not all, for the Bengal Government "not only exculpated the Princes from *exciting* the Mutiny, but are satisfied of their highly good Conduct in refusing to join or have any communication with the Mutineers (with the exception of Moiz Udeen, who encouraged the Seapoys *after* they had possession of the Fort). The Consequence has been, that the Government which (previous to the receipt of the Papers from Madras) had supposed them all guilty, and consequently treated them with great Rigour, has now granted them every Indulgence." Reassured as to the fate of his charges, the indispensable man hurried back to Madras to fetch by land "the junior Princes, and the families of those whom I carried by Sea to Bengal—(60 or 70 Children and 250 Women). I shall have for an Escort, 100 Europeans, 5 Companies of Sepoys, and a Troop of Native Cavalry, with an immense Sowarrie of Elephants, Tents, Palanqueens &c. &c." The march by way of Ganjam occupied four and a half months, and was marked by "a Variety of Vexations, in the Desertion of Palanqueen Bearers, breaking down of Carriages, Passage over Lakes and Rivers, and amongst the rest, the trifling difficulty of feeding nearly 600 Souls."

Less fortunate than Marriott was Lord William Bentinck. In September "the Coll." writes to his mother begging her to "distribute as many *written copies* of the late *Melancholy Business* at Vellore, as I can, to prevent People being prejudiced by *Misrepresentations*." He seems to think, she says—her style owes as much to italics as her husband's to inverted commas—"Matters have gone such lengths between the Governor and Commander in Chief at Madras, that the business must be laid before Parliament, in short the *General* and his Faction are doing all they can, to Throw the Blame off *his* Shoulders, let it light where it will." There was a lack of detail about her son's letters that disappointed Mrs. Marriott, but "*I have my doubts*," she says shrewdly, "whether the *dispatches* will ever be made public, especially if the *Shaving Order* was issued by any favourite. For though *Tom* does not mention *that*, all my Correspondents are not quite so carefull, and I have it from very good Authority, that that unfortunate *Fantaisie* was partly, though not perhaps the only Cause." But the Parliamentary inquiry, before which Tom expected to be called as a witness, was not held, nor was any attempt made to judge between the protagonists. The Directors, on the receipt of Maitland's alarming despatch, executed what they probably considered was even-handed justice by recalling both Governor and Commander-in-Chief. "They have dismissed *Ld. William Bentinck* and the Commander in Chief," says Toone. "I want to have the Adjutant-General and his Deputy moved from their Staff office . . . They merit to be shot—and yet I have not been able to prevail with the Court, to come to a prompt decision—*wait, wait, wait* a little; they ought to be dismissed; but the Ships are going and we have not time! !—Miserable."

Lord William, removed so summarily that he was thankful to accept Pellew's offer of a passage home, made earnest efforts on his return to induce the Directors to rescind their resolution, but in vain. Twelve years later, however, he had the satisfaction of refusing the Governorship of Madras when it was again offered to him, and in 1827 he was finally vindicated by being appointed Governor-General. Cradock, it is interesting to learn, was permanently soured in temper owing to the injustice of his recall, in spite of the efforts of his friend the Duke of Wellington to compensate him. Gillespie received a vote of thanks, "a small pecuniary present," and the Inspectorship of Cavalry, of which he was deprived "in an indelicate manner" within twelve months. His reward contrasts poorly with the peerage and the commands in Portugal, at Gibraltar and at the Cape, that fell to the lot of Cradock. That injured man remains pilloried as an example of the harm that may be done by the zealous doctrinaire without local knowledge; and his advisers of the futility of such knowledge unaccompanied by sympathy. Consultation beforehand with a few Indian officers would have shown them the danger of the proposed reforms, which might at that stage have been withdrawn without the appearance of yielding to pressure which Lord William Bentinck thought so undesirable, and the fear of which led him to unwise persistence. Life is often less merciful to blunders than to crimes, and to meddle light-heartedly with matters of caste and religion was a blunder in 1806 as in 1857.

## A Deal in Elephants.

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ONE hundred and fifty years ago this last October there landed in Calcutta two soldiers and one civilian : they were in no very genial frame of mind, and the fact that only seventeen guns had saluted their arrival, instead of twenty-one increased their moroseness. Their names were General John Clavering, Colonel George Monson and Mr. Philip Francis. They had been appointed under the Regulating Act (13 Geo. III) to the Council at Fort William on the nourishing salary of £8,000 a year each. Their stay in India was brief : Colonel Monson was dead before his second year of office was completed, and General Clavering did not live to see the conclusion of his third; Mr. Francis returned to England in December 1780. Their work in India has always been associated with the distasteful spectacle of the Company's Government convulsed by their factious and quarrelsome spirit : yet their aims were good, and their intentions just. They might have conferred lasting benefit on Bengal if they had been content to act with more moderation and less bias. Their hot-headed words and deeds have been so often paraded for the disparaging criticism of posterity that the following incident is related in the hope that it may be realised that these three gentlemen materially contributed to raise the tone and standard of the Company's service in India.

Readers of Thackeray will remember his unflattering picture of the Company's District officer. Mr. Jos. Sedley, Collector of Boggley Wollah, stood, and still stands, for many people as the typical John Company's man of his time; whereas, generally speaking, it is true to say that the reverse was the case. A juster and truer account of the real District Officer is to be found in the Sadar and Mofussil revenue records of the period. In those dry bones of history their good work lies interred and forgotten; while the evil of a few Company's "hard bargains" is remembered in sprightly reminiscences which make piquant reading for later generations.

There were, of course, as in every service, bad and indifferent officers scattered like tares among a good crop, and in that category must regretfully be included Thackeray's own grandfather and name-sake, William Makepeace Thackeray. This gentleman, who was a member of the Dacca Provincial Council of Revenue, had been discovered to be holding, illegitimately and in fictitious Indian names, the lucrative farm (1) or *ijara* of Sylhet for his own profit. Such a proceeding was contrary to the regulations of the service, as promulgated by the Committee of Circuit and confirmed by the Board of Revenue in 1772. Moreover, in the name of these fictitious contractors, Mr. Thackeray had agreed to supply sixty-two elephants to the Governor-General

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(1) "Farm" is used in the sense of a district whose revenue had been framed out by Government to a Contractor.

in Council for which he was to receive payment at the rate of "one thousand sicca rupees for each elephant, half ready money, the remainder on their being delivered to the Company's Agent at Sylhet."

Before this business transaction was completed Mr. Thackeray had been called upon to explain how he was involved in the Sylhet collections, as accusations of oppression were being made against men who proved to be his gomastahs. His first explanation, dated June 15, 1775, was considered unsatisfactory, and a further explanation was demanded by the Supreme Council. This was submitted to the Council, who may be termed (although inaccurately) the Board, and it was ordered "to lie for consideration." In these two explanations Mr. Thackeray admitted that he had taken the farm in fictitious Indian names, that the Sylhet farmers from whom the elephants had been purchased were men of straw, and that he was the real vendor. He denied the accusations of oppression and threw himself on the mercy of the Board, who acquitted Thackeray of the charge of wilful oppression but considered that "his crimes are the crimes of a deviation from the public regulations and a violation of the rigid line of propriety." The words are those of the Governor-General, and it must here be observed that the Board were divided on the subject. The Governor-General and Mr. Barwell took a lenient view of Mr. Thackeray's action, and were inclined to regard it more as an amiable weakness rather than a gross dereliction of duty: Messrs. Clavering, Monson and Francis took a much more severe view of the transaction. The difference in opinion was doubtless heightened by the party feeling which dominated the Council. This feeling, if the writer may venture an opinion, was not always the wilful malice and envy that many writers have interpreted it to be. It was the clash of two schools of thought. On the one side were the loyal servants of the Company, who could honestly see no room for improvement and who placed the Company's profits before any other consideration. On the other were three men who had belonged to the Service of the Crown all their lives, two of whom held with distinction the King's Commission, and who had a higher standard of public duty. In fact, the old school regarded themselves not so much as public servants but as Company's servants: the new school considered themselves as public servants rather than Company's servants. To this conflict of opinion, the writer ventures to ascribe some of the difficulties that followed in the administration of the revenue collections.

Mr. Thackeray was deprived of his Sylhet farm and his seat on the Dacca Provincial Council of Revenue, but he was permitted under certain restrictions to settle up his affairs before leaving (2). Accordingly in a letter dated March 31, 1776 he submitted a claim for Rs. 33,350, being the balance of the money for the elephants which he had supplied to the Company. He was requested to attend the Board in person, which he did on June 18, 1776, and was closely interrogated. Most of the elephants turned out to be useless: only sixteen reached Patna out of the sixty-two, as the greater portion

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(2) He had applied to be allowed to return to Europe.

had died on the march (3). Mr. Thackeray was searchingly questioned by General Clavering, who tried to obtain from him the name of the man who had acted as his agent in Calcutta for the sale of the elephants and to whom the first instalment of the purchase money had been paid (4). At subsequent interviews before the Board the same question was propounded. On each occasion Mr. Thackeray absolutely refused to give any information, saying that he could not do so without violating his pledged word and without involving his honour: "I think I cannot well reply to it as a man of principle and honour." General Clavering returned again and again to this point until the Governor-General intervened and supported Mr. Thackeray. The matter then produced the usual unfortunate division among the members of the Board, but perhaps Colonel Monson expressed the view that most readers will hold when he said:

"I cannot comprehend that the declaration of an Agent in a public transaction in which the interests of the Company are concerned can be a breach of the principles of honour. The proposals for taking (5) the elephants were made in the name of persons who never existed. The order for delivering the elephants was made to Mr. Thackeray who was the proprietor of them and who appointed the agent to receive them on the part of the Company. The elephants arrived in such a state at Patna that they were not in a condition to perform any service and the greatest part of them are now reported dead.

This statement of Colonel Monson with its serious and weighty implications of dishonesty was never challenged either by Mr. Thackeray or any single member of the Board.

Two meetings of the Board were held in July 1776 to examine Mr. Thackeray further; and the parties reached a deadlock. The Board refused to sanction payment until Mr. Thackeray either gave up the name of his agent, or else brought an action against the Company: and there the matter rested.

During September 1776, a complete change came over the administration. Colonel Monson died on September 25: this gave, by means of the use of the casting vote, the majority in the Council to the Governor-General.

(3) The ultimate destination of the elephants was mohalla Belgram, in Arrah town, named after a member of the well-known Bilgrami family, who came from Lucknow and settled there. See Letter to England: Revenue Department Fort William, dated December 19, 1776, paragraph 40 (quoted in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VII, at p. 229, where also other original documents are printed): "When the elephants were delivered by Mr. Thackeray's Agent at Patna, it is stated that they were unfit in every respect for service: that some died on the first day's march: and that only 16 out of 60 survived the march from Dinapore to Belgram, the place of their destination." Sir William Hunter ("*Thackerays in India*," p. 91) seems to have imagined that the elephants were sent to Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, for he writes of "the trying march across India to Belgram, a distance of a thousand miles." Mr. Bradley Birt ("*Sylhet Thackeray*," pp. 154—156) falls into the same error, for he refers to "the subsequent march from Patna to Belgaum."

(4) Consult the extract from the Farington Diary which is reproduced at the end of this article. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton for this reference and the preceding one.

(5) "Taking": i.e. catching and supplying.

Moreover, General Clavering was frequently absent from the Council meetings through sickness, leaving Mr. Francis in a minority of one against the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Thackeray, who had several times offered to arbitrate, somewhat reluctantly took steps to bring a case against the Company for the rest of his money, and in November 1776 he obtained a decree from the High Court for Rs. 29,427 for the remainder of the sum due to him. He then applied to the Governor-General in Council for an order for payment, which order was passed on December 10, 1776, in the face of a protest from Mr. Francis, and a written minute of objection from General Clavering who was lying ill in bed.

General Clavering and Mr. Francis based their objection to any payment being made, on the written and considered opinion of Mr. Thomas Farrer, Standing Counsel to the Company. Mr. Farrer had been formally asked by the Company's attorneys, Messrs. Jarrett and Foxcroft, for his professional opinion on Mr. Thackeray's claim. The letter of Messrs. Jarrett and Foxcroft was dated September 2, 1776: the Standing Counsel's opinion is embodied in the minutes for November 29, 1776. In the course of his opinion Mr. Farrer stated that more papers than those actually submitted should have been furnished to him, and that he was strongly opposed to admitting Mr. Thackeray's claim.

"In every part of the transaction, from the origin to the close, I perceive such strong marks of a fraudulent misrepresentation and concealment that it seems to be essential to justice to investigate the matters to the bottom by a Bill of Discovery, and forbearance to do so would be, in my opinion, to suffer in matters of property, of mere meum and tuum, those things to be concealed under a false idea of honour and principle in a party which the justice of case requires to be revealed."

This was a very serious criticism on Mr. Thackeray's professional and private character, coming as it did from the recognised legal adviser to the Company's Government in Bengal: In his minute of protest General Clavering quotes this opinion of Mr. Farrer, and charges the Governor-General with permitting no proper defence to Thackeray's action to be made on behalf of the Company. "In this cause," he writes, "not a single witness was produced."

The minute was unanswered. At the Board the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell objected to the Standing Counsel's proposal to proceed by a Bill of Discovery. Mr. Francis supported the proposal: General Clavering was absent ill, and Colonel Monson was dead. The will of the majority prevailed, and in the face of an authoritative legal opinion which pronounced the transaction to be fraudulent "from the origin to the close," an order, as has been said, was passed on December 10, 1776, authorising the payment to Mr. Thackeray of the remainder of his claim.

It is with no mere desire to chronicle old scandals that this incident has been discussed. In the opinion of the writer, too little credit has been given

to the efforts made by General Clavering and his two colleagues for the purification of the Company's service. The Governor-General's attitude towards the episode which has been related, and also towards his favourite Kantu Babu, exhibits a most remarkable laxity. It can only be supposed that the Company's servants in Bengal were very easily satisfied with the standard which should prevail among administrative officers. Hastings' opponents in the Council, with the exception of Colonel Monson, were malicious, jealous, and unjust: but they had substantial grounds for their openly expressed contempt for the notions of honesty which they found in high places in Bengal.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

NOTE.—It would appear from the following extract from the Diary of Joseph Farington, R.A. (Vol. III, pp. 278-279) that the individual who acted as Thackeray's agent in Calcutta for the sale of the elephants and whose name he would not reveal, was Richard Barwell.

*July 16, 1806.*—Barroneau's at New Lodge near Hadley I went to.... We dined at 5 o'clock. Three o'clock is their hour when they have no company. The company consisted of neighbours... Mr. Thackeray is abt. 57 years of age. He was formerly in the East Indies, at Bengal. Mr. Cartier was his friend (6). When General Monson, Mr. Francis, and Genl. Clavering were sent to Bengal, as it was purposed to reform abuses, they were desirous of proving Mr. Barwell, a Member of the Council, to have been concerned in contracts, an act which His situation did not allow. Mr. Thackeray had at that time an appointment and made a contract for *Elephants* in which it was believed Mr. Barwell had a concern. The 3 persons above mentioned forming a majority in Council, called upon Thackeray to declare who was concerned with Him, but Thackeray knowing how much it would affect Barwell refused to mention any name, but His own, and He was dismissed from his situation. General Monson soon after dying, Francis and Genl. Clavering were opposed in the Council by Mr. Warren Hastings and Barwell, and Mr. Hastings, as Governor, having the *casting* vote, the minority formed a majority. Thackeray then applied for a place which had become vacant, but Mr. Hastings and Barwell put him off with promises which so disgusted Him that He left India with abt. £20,000.

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(6) Thackeray appears from the family records to have acted as "Secretary to Mr. (John) Cartier" who preceded Hastings as Governor of Fort William (1769—1772). It was from Cartier's house in Calcutta that Jane Thackeray was married to James Rennell on October 15, 1772. In the previous year Thackeray was appointed to be factor in the Company's service and Fourth of Council at Dacca.—Ed. B. P. and P.



# What the Hooghly Saw.

## A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS ON THE RIVER AT THE FALL OF CALCUTTA IN 1756.

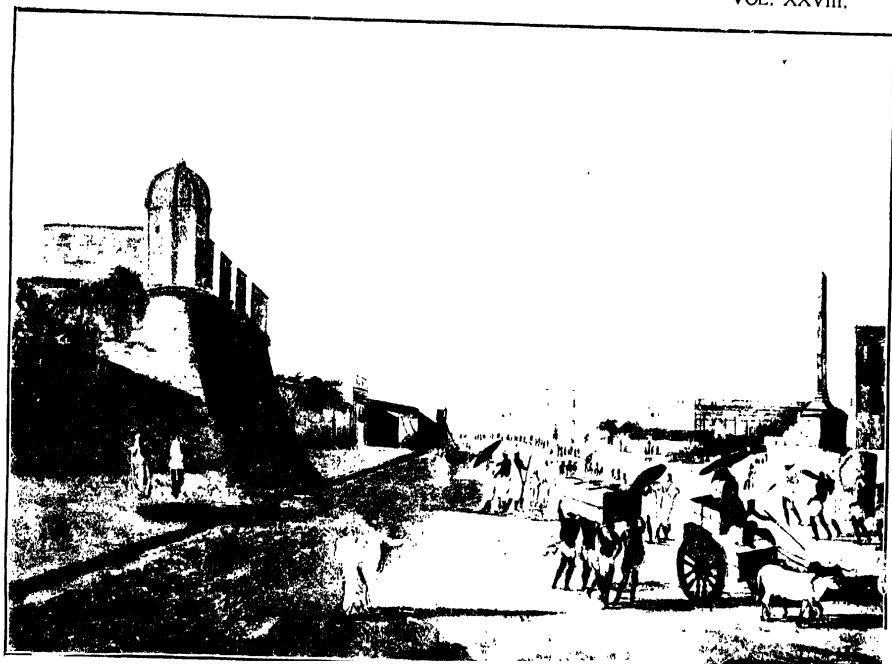
*"O, he has given example for our flight  
Most grossly by his own."*

*"Antony and Cleopatra" III. X.*

**G**REAT events often go down to history with the label of some incident which has caught the popular imagination in a measure altogether disproportionate to its intrinsic influence. The death of over a hundred European prisoners in the Fort guard-room after the fall of Calcutta, horrible as the tragedy was, probably made no difference to the subsequent course of events. What would have mattered would have been the failure of the rest to make good their line of retreat by river, thus depriving Clive and Watson of a *point d'appui* and local knowledge for their subsequent operations. While, on the other hand the arrival of very slight assistance during the three days' fighting round Fort William might have rendered possible, if not its defence, at least an orderly withdrawal by those who were finally captured. Only the River Hooghly knew how near both contingencies came to being realised, and it is the object of this narrative to extract her story from her.

The course of the attack by land which ended in the capture of Fort William cannot be better told than has been done in Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*. It was on the morning of June 17, 1756 that fighting began at the northern end of what is now the Chitpore Road, round a battery of the Company's known as "Perrin's redoubt;" and this developed on June 18 into what can best be termed the battle of the Lal Dhigi (Dalhousie Square). By the evening of June 18 Seraj-ud-doulah's forces had driven in the three batteries posted approximately at the present site of Council House Street, Clive Ghat Street, and St. Andrew's Church. The disorderly withdrawal from the last named of these, which exposed the other two to attack from the rear, was the first real blow to the defence of the Fort.

Meanwhile how would the position by river have appeared if a bird's-eye view could have been taken from Chitpore to Diamond Harbour? Let us fix the moment at dawn on the morning of the 18th; and proceed from north to south. At Chitpore opposite Perrin's redoubt lay the Company's ship "Prince George" (Captain Hague) and another small vessel, probably the ketch "Fortune" (Captain Campbell). The "Prince George" had been posted here to support Perrin's redoubt, and had achieved her object. Supported by her fire from the river, and reinforced by a small party from the Fort, the gallant Ensign Picard, an honoured name in a dismal story, had held the battery till the enemy moved off in the direction of Dum-Dum. On the night of the 18th he withdrew his battery intact by river; but for some unexplained reason the important step was not taken of calling down the "Prince George" as soon as possible after daylight on the following morning to join the shipping off the Fort (I). This was the first among many fatal errors.



OLD FORT WILLIAM: 1786.  
Showing Eastern Curtains and Bastions and Clive Street in the background.  
(From Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta".)



THE SAME VIEW IN 1924.  
(From a photograph by C. F. Hooper.)



Proceeding southwards we come next to the shipping under the guns of the Fort. Prominent here was the "Dodelay" (Captain Young) a privately owned vessel in the Company's service, of which Manningham and Frankland, two senior servants of the Company, were part owners. The "Diligence" another privately owned vessel run for the Company, in which Holwell seems to have had some kind of interest, lay at Holwell's Ghat. The rest of the fleet consisted of some half dozen of the Company's own vessels, and about a dozen light private vessels in the Company's service, in addition to small craft and boats. Among them lay also two Indian ships captured off Calcutta when it was known that Seraj-ud-doulah was marching on the town.

A puzzling feature in the events by river is that so many of the vessels included in the list of shipping at Calcutta do not appear as taking part in the subsequent retreat, although it is repeatedly stated in contemporary accounts that every available vessel was carried off by the fugitives. The list receives such ample confirmation in many details that it can hardly be discredited; and the conclusion follows that several of these vessels, especially those of the Company, must have been unfit to sail through want of crews, defective rigging, or need of other repairs. This is the more easily intelligible when it is remembered that in the ordinary course they would not have expected to sail for some months to come. No attempt was made to impress the two prizes for the purposes of the flight, possibly because they still had their Indian crews on board.

With this slight digression we may leave the shipping off the Fort on the morning of June 18, lying quietly in stream and at the Ghats. Continuing our survey down the river we come next to the two posts fortified by the enemy to cut communications with the sea. Of these one was on the right bank at "Makwa Thana" in the present Sibpore Gardens, and the other on the left bank at Budge Budge. The ships "Dodelay" and "Prince George" with the ketch "Lively" (Captain Best) and the "snow" "Neptune" (Captain Austen) had in fact already been in action against the fort at Thana on June 13, when they had driven out the garrison and landed a party which spiked the guns and threw six of them into the river. They had however been withdrawn on the following day on the arrival of larger forces of the enemy with fifteen guns to reinforce this post. The retreat by river was therefore impeded if not cut off at its two narrowest points. The fort at Makwa Thana was formidable, at least in appearance, being a masonry structure well armed and garrisoned. It is not so clear that the Fort at Budge Budge was in an effective condition at the time that Calcutta was attacked, for Drake mentions that batteries were still being erected when the fleet passed on the 24th.

Below these two strongholds of the enemy again help was approaching in the shape of the frigate "Bombay" and the "Speedwell," which on the morning of the 18th June were still four days down the river. These two

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(1) This was not due to the tide, which must have been running downstream very soon after daylight on the 19th. It set upstream about 1 a.m. on the night of the 18/19th. Vide Orme's account at page 128 Vol. III of S. C. Hill's "Bengal in 1756/1757."

vessels actually appeared round the bend below Garden Reach less than twelve hours after Holwell and the other survivors staggered out of the Black Hole on the morning of the 21st. So near had help been. Further downstream were approaching the galley "Success" and the slop "Syren" from Madras, and the "Speedwell," apparently another vessel of the same name, from Bombay. These vessels never came up to Calcutta however, but met the ships carrying the fugitives down stream below Budge Budge.

It was a dramatic moment, therefore, on the river, when the fighting by land began. There were ships available for a retreat if properly handled: the line of retreat again was imperilled at two points by the riverside fortifications of the enemy: and finally there was support of some kind, though not in the shape of organised military reinforcement, coming up the river. The ships coming up were in ignorance of the urgent need for their assistance; and no preparations had been made for an immediate retirement on board those lying off the Fort.

It is difficult to fix the exact point at which these preparations can be said to have begun. It is quite likely that a certain amount of treasure and goods had been quietly placed aboard by the wealthier residents in Calcutta at the same time as the military preparations for the defence of the town were being hurried on, in the second week of June. It is difficult otherwise to understand how the large amount of treasure, which some of the ships undoubtedly had on board when they moved, had been shipped. It seems to be well established that three lakhs were lost on the "Neptune;" and the insinuation made by Drake's caustic young critic William Tooke (2), that there had been an attempt to get this vessel away on June 13, implies at least the belief that personal effects were going aboard some days before Seraj-ud-doulah reached Calcutta, though the insinuation is unsubstantiated.

There appears, however, to have been no general activity in the shipping off the Fort till the afternoon of June 18, for the simple reason that a hasty retreat had not been contemplated before the withdrawal, early on that afternoon, of the battery at the north east corner of the Lal Dighi. Among the first to foresee coming developments was Holwell, who, while still on duty at that battery, found time and attention to arrange for shipping his cash, plate and jewels, to the value of half a lakh, on board the "Diligence." This was in the early afternoon when it was already known to the defenders that the battery was untenable. There can be little doubt that many others followed battery was untenable. There can be little doubt that many others busied themselves about shipping their effects when fighting was all that mattered.

The first official measures to organise a retreat by river were taken later on the same afternoon when Manningham and Frankland, subsequently the first Collector of Calcutta, were commissioned, on their own initiative to conduct the European women on board the "Dodelay." It will be remembered

(2) A factor of six years service: volunteered for service as a private with the troops in 1756: and mortally wounded when serving under Eyre Coote in the attack on Chandernagore 14th March 1756.

that they were part owners of this vessel. The exact nature of their instructions was afterwards the subject of a good deal of controversy. It is not certain, though probable, that they were made responsible for getting the Company's treasure and papers aboard the fleet with the women. It may be taken as quite certain that they were expected to return to their duties in the Fort as first and second in command of the Militia. This they never did, and none of their subsequent excuses can absolve them from the ignominy of being the first to desert their posts at the crisis. They failed also to ship the Company's papers, or the balance in the Treasury, which was of no considerable amount. It was urged against them that the reason for this failure lay in their preoccupation with private interests as well as the safety of the women. Of this there is no actual proof, but it is hard to disbelieve that they took at least as much thought for their own property as Holwell had done for his earlier in the day. Certainly money and effects were being hastily conveyed aboard that night by those who had access to the shipping.

The retirement by river was finally decided on at a Council of war in the Fort between 1 a.m. and 2 a.m. on the morning of the 19th; and was fixed for the ensuing night. With daylight however came utter confusion. The Fort was thronged with Portuguese and Armenians, crowds pressed to the waterside, and the number of small boats available for escape to the shipping rapidly diminished, while the danger hourly increased that the enemy would bring the riverside under effective fire. A similar risk was felt to extend to the shipping, as fire arrows began to pass over the Fort; and the "Dodelay" was moved downstream in the early morning (3): if indeed she had not already been moved during the night. She halted at first a few hundred yards below the Fort, and then dropped down to "Sarman's Gardens" at the southern limit of the town; i.e., somewhere off Kidderpore. This measure was taken in the first instance to clear her of the small craft with which she was encumbered; and in itself was not without justification, the first duty of those on board being obviously to ensure the safety of the women refugees. The movement was, however, the first open sign of flight, and accentuated the demoralisation which had already been felt on the failure of Manningham and Frankland to return to their posts on shore. When the "Dodelay" was seen to be on the move the other vessels off the Fort showed signs of following, while on shore began a *sauve qui peut* at the waterside behind the Fort. This culminated towards noon when Governor Drake, after hesitating on the bank, jumped into one of the last boats left at the Ghat and made for the shipping. There is no reason to doubt his own account that it was the result of a momentary impulse at a time of extreme physical fatigue. Subsequently he was loud in self reproach, and posterity may leave him to the generous verdict of the message which

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(3) Holwell says that she moved during the night. Other accounts place this occurrence next morning. Possibly the move downstream as far as Mr. Margas' house, i.e. about the level of Chandpal Ghat, took place that night. She certainly could not move downstream between 1 a.m. and daylight in the dark against the tide. Vide Holwell, I. 245, II. 44 Op. Cit.

Clive sent to his uncle six months later, "that if his nephew has erred I believe it is in judgment not principle."

By midday the fleet was well on the move downstream; and the statement that many of the ships cut their cables to get away is probably true, for there was a significant shortage of anchors by the time that they reached Fulta. They moved down in disorder as far as Kidderpore where they anchored, to await events. The degree of demoralisation which had now set in is best illustrated by the failure to make any adequate attempt to relieve or to communicate with the defenders left in the Fort. Amidst the general chorus of excuses and recriminations it is difficult to say how far the responsibility for this last phase of desertion should be placed on Drake or the Captains. It may be that the crowded decks, the want of lascars, and the danger of fire from the banks made any such measures impracticable. Drake himself states that Captain Nicholson on the schooner "Hunter" actually moved upstream, but that his crew jumped overboard as soon as he reached the south of the town. Holwell and others deny that a boat of any kind moved upstream by day or night after the morning of the 19th. Some time after midday on the 19th the "Prince George" was seen by those on the ships to move down from Chitpore, only to ground not far from the present site of the Howrah Bridge where she was subsequently taken by the enemy, plundered and burnt. If Holwell is to be believed, a message reached the vessels below the Fort, that she only needed anchors and cable to bring her off; and, even without this, it must have been clear that this was the last desperate moment in which assistance was called for. The refugees in the fleet however, looked on in despair while the party in the Fort, the fall of which was now a matter of hours, were deprived of their last hope of escape.

The fleet lay inactive off Kidderpore for the ensuing two nights and a day. The misery of those on board can hardly have been excelled by the distress in the Fort itself. Though few if any of the European women on board had actually lost relatives in the fighting, and the majority had at least the ignominious consolation that their menfolk had successfully escaped, such as Mrs. Drake with her two children, and Mrs. Cruttenden with her three, all alike were destitute. Others might take such pride as they could in their anxiety for the fate of husbands left in the Fort, such as Mrs. Clayton, and Mrs. Buchanan with her child, who were in the ships off Kidderpore while their husbands perished in the Black Hole. The decks were crowded with countryborn, especially of Portuguese descent, in addition to the Europeans. In this condition they lay in the heat which precedes the Monsoon, ignorant of the fate of friends and relatives ashore, watching the sky lit up on the night of the 19th by conflagrations round the Fort, and listening to the firing till its cessation on the afternoon of the following day told that all was over. On the morning of the 21st, still in ignorance of the final tragedy the ships weighed anchor for the journey downstream.

It is significant that the fleet now consisted almost entirely of private vessels in the Company's service, the only Company vessels included being

the schooner "Hunter" and the sloop "Calcutta" (Pilot Ward). The private vessels were the ships "Dodelay" and "Fame" (Captain Baldwin) the ketches "Fortune" (Captain Campbell) and "Lively" the "snows" "Neptune" and "Ann" (Captain Watmore) and the sloops "London" (Captain Costelly) and "Bonnetta" (4). Misfortune was met with almost as soon as they sailed, in the loss of the "Neptune" and "Calcutta" which ran aground in the confusion of the first attempt to pass the fort at Makwa Thana. The result was that the whole fleet turned back and lay helpless between Garden Reach and the Sibpore Gardens till at five o'clock in the afternoon the Frigate "Bombay" and the "Speedwell" passed the fort on the journey upstream. With this encouragement and with a favouring wind the fugitives made use of the last hour of daylight to force the passage downstream against the tide; and so ineffective was the fire brought to bear on them from the fifteen guns in the fort that the only casualties were one killed and two wounded. That night the rains broke, but the monsoon set in feebly (5). Three days later Budge Budge was passed. The shore batteries here do not appear to have been ready for action; but the "Diligence," on which Mrs. Drake and other European ladies had embarked, ran aground and was plundered. There is some satisfaction in reflecting that among the spoils were the valuables of which Holwell had bethought himself at his battery on the 18th. If Mrs. Drake was still aboard she came to no harm, and here as elsewhere the enemy seem to have behaved with respect to the Company's ladies.

Once past Budge Budge the actual dangers of the retreat were over. Short however of all supplies which the villagers on the riverside had been forbidden to furnish, the ships put ashore all fugitives not connected with the Europeans, and proceeded to Fulta, just above Diamond Harbour, where the Dutch had a small factory. With their arrival here on the 26th June the story closes. Their life on board for the following few months, with its tale of tedium, confinement, increasing ill health, mutual recrimination, ponderous inditing of reports, appeals to Madras, and ignoble overtures to the Nabob for leave to return to Calcutta, lie beyond the scope of this article. Only perhaps one may be permitted a parting glance at that astonishing "Advertisement" to be seen on the masts of the fleet at the end of October in which Governor Drake hopes "to be granted by you, gentlemen, the indulgence of being accused of such actions you may think me blameable in committing."

C. W. GURNER.

(4) The "Hunter" and the "Bonnetta" are not included in Drake's list of the fleet sailing from Garden Reach. The "Hunter" is mentioned by him however as among the vessels which left the Fort and separate documents printed on pages 405 to 408 of Hill's *Bengal 1756/1757* (Vol. III) show that both were included in the fleet sailing to Fulta.

(5) Holwell, Vol. II Page 13 Op. Cit : Watts, Vol. III Page 335 Op. Cit.

NOTE.—The reconstruction of the events by river in the above article is based on documents printed in the three volumes of S. C. Hill's *"Bengal in 1756/1757."* I have limited the foot-notes to a few out of the way aspects, or contradictions of evidence.



## A Note on Rennell's Place-names.

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THE following note deals with a number of places referred to in the letters of James Rennell. All are mentioned in the article by Mr. A. K. Jameson, I.C.S., which was published in Vol. XXVII of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 1—11).

Identification has not always been easy. Places which were important at the time (1764—1771) are now insignificant : similarity of name is apt to create confusion : and, lastly, difficulties are caused by variety of spelling. The chief guide has been Rennell's own large scale maps.

(Page 4) Olyapour.—Spelt Oliapour in Rennell's map (plate 44, part 2). The modern Ulipur, headquarters of a thana of that name and still the seat of the principal Kutchery of the Baharbund Zemindars.

(Page 5) Tytari.—Shown to the west of Oliapour in Rennell's map. Probably the Totirea of the Rangpur district map.

(Ibid) Deenhatta—shown in Rennell's map as a large place in Bhtarband pargana, north-east of Kurigram. Now an important village in the Kurigram subdivision of the Rungpur district on the southern limits of Nageswari thana. Not to be confused with Dinhat subdivision in the State of Cooch Behar.

(Page 6) Baggoa—shown in Rennell's map to the north of the river Dharla. Spelt Bugwah in the Rungpur district map.

(Page 7, note 1) Bowanygunge—would appear to be the Bhabaniganj, in Bagmara Thana, of the Rajshahi district map. Shown in Rennell's map as an important place, from which a road leads to Murshidabad. The letter quoted (December 9, 1770) states that Rennell went there after an encounter with a Zemindar at Palsah, near Godagari.

(Ibid : note 2) Beluchy—possibly the modern Belkuchi in the Serajganj subdivision of the Pabna district : shown as Belcuchy in Rennell's map. Formerly the headquarters of Barabazu pargana and the residence of the Muhammadan Zemindars.

(Ibid : note 2) Seergunge—probably the place shown as Seebgunge in Rennell's map : now in the Bogra district at the junction of the Karatoya and Nagar rivers. Archdeacon Firminger accepts this identification in his introduction to the Fifth Report (Vol. I, p. ccxlix). Near Mustan (Manastan the ancient capital of the Pod dynasty) and connected by road with that place and also Ghoraghat and Gobindagunge. All these places are mentioned in the letter of March 1, 1771, for which see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. X, p. 151. The passage is as follows : " Lieut. Feltham, with the Rungpore detachment, taking the road to Goragaut and Gobingunge, surprised the camp [of the fakirs] on the morning of the 25th [February] and after a skirmish defeated and dispersed them. . . Their chief, Sheik Mun Janoo, fled on horseback to Mustan Ghurr."

JAMINI MOHAN GHOSH.

# Baptisms in Calcutta, 1783—1785.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which the third portion is now printed, covering the period from 1783 to 1785) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge, of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Registers have appeared in the following volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* :

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1713 to 1758 : Vol. XXI, pp. 143 to 159.  
 1759 to 1766 : Vol. V, pp. 325 to 332.  
 1767 to 1777 : Vol. XXV, pp. 139 to 155.  
 1778 to 1782 : Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 to 168.

Marriages in Calcutta : 1713 to 1754 : Vol. IX, pp. 217 to 243.  
 1759 to 1779 : Vol. IV, pp. 486 to 572.  
 1780 to 1785 : Vol. VII pp. 164 to 171.  
 1785 to 1792 : Vol. XVI, pp. 41 to 71.  
 1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register) : Vol. XXI,  
 pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta : 1713 to 1755 : Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.  
 1759 to 1761 : Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.  
 1762 to 1774 : Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

NOTE :—Many of the succeeding entries refer to individuals who figure in the entries from 1767 to 1782, and of whom biographical details have been given in that connexion. For obvious reasons, the information has not been repeated.

## 1783.

- Jan. 3. Penelope, daughter of Edwd. Wheler, first Member of the Supreme Council, and Charlotte, his wife. (1)  
 .. 8. Maria Theresa, daughter of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke. (2)  
 .. 19. Simeon Henry, son of Mr. Thos. Boileau, Atty.-at-law. (3)  
 .. 28. Chas. Cornelius, son of Sir Robt. Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Frances, his wife. (3A)  
 .. 29. Charlotte Sophie, daughter of Mr. Thos. Dashwood, writer, H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (4)  
 Feb. 7. Louisa Dacres, daughter of Mr. Peter Moore, Sr. Mercht. H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (5)  
 Mar. 11. Ann, daughter of Capt. Robt. Spearman Bate, Madras Estabt., and Ann his wife.

- May 5. Kenneth Archd. John, son of Mr. Kenneth Murchison, Surgn., H. C.'s Service.
- „ 5. Grainger Stuart, son of Capt. Peter Murray. (Aged about 4 years).
- June 14. Anna Harvey, daughter of Mr. John Petrie, St. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Anne, his wife.
- „ 27. Maria Catharine, daughter of Mr. Justice Hyde, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and Mary, his wife. (6)
- July 2. Elizth. daughter of Mr. Page Keble, Marine Paymaster and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 22. Henry John, son of Mr. John Henry Guinaud of Pultah and (blank). (7)
- Aug. 3. Joseph, son of Lothar Weckers Demart Love.
- „ 5. Chas. Lionel, son of Major Saml. Showers, H. C.'s Service, and Melian, his wife. (8)
- Copy and duplicate sent by the *Nerbudda* Packet and the *Rodney* Indiaman, Novr. 28, 1783. W. JOHNSON. (9).
- Sep. 13. John Stewart, son of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature and Margt. his wife.
- „ 17. Lewis, son of Mr. Lewis Selby, Tavern Keeper, and Sarah, his wife. (10)
- „ 21. Thos., son of John Matthes, Soldr.
- Oct. 1. Wilhelmina Alexandra Harriet, daughter of Lieut. Simon Baillie, Madras Estabt., and Alexandra, his wife. (11).
- „ 19. John Thos., son of John Loft, Soldier.
- „ 23. Francis Princep (*sic*), son of Mr. Henry Scott, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (12)
- „ 23. Elizth. Scott, daughter of Mr. John Prinsep, Free Mercht.
- „ 23. Henry Willm., son of Mr. John Henry Guinaud.
- „ 23. Margt., daughter of the late Mr. Arthur Long, Commdr. of a Country Vessel.
- Nov. 9. Geo. Burrington, son of Lieut. Thos. Whingates and Catherine, his wife. (13)
- „ 17. Mary, daughter of Mr. Richd. Litchfield, one of the Prothonotaries, Supreme Court, and Mary, his wife. (14)
- „ 23. Edw., son of Mr. John Joys, Inhabt., and Mary, his wife. (15)
- „ 24. Sophia Charlotte, daughter of Mr. John Prinsep, Free Mercht., and Sophia, his wife, Godfather: Mr. Templer. Godmothers: Mrs. Auriol by her proxy, Mrs. Templer, and Mrs. Dashwood. (16).
- „ 27. Saml., son of Joseph Bernard Smith, St. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Rosa, his wife.
- Dec. 13. Lucia Carey, daughter of Major Grattan and Lucia, his wife.
- „ 15. Willm., son of Nathl. Middleton, Sr. Mercht., and Sarah, his wife. (17)
- „ 15. Frances Ann, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Middleton.

- Dec. 15. Sophia, daughter of Mr. Wm. Cator, Sr. Mercht., and Sarah, his wife. (18)  
 „ 21. Mary, daughter of Jas. Carey, Boatswain-mate on board the *Atlas* Indiaman, and (blank), his wife. (19)

WM. JOHNSON.

## 1784.

- Jan. 9. Edwd., son of Mr. Thos. Dashwood, writer, H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte Louisa, his wife. (20)  
 „ 12. Emma Sarah Moore, daughter of Capt. Wm. Wood, H. C.'s Service and Esther, his wife.  
 „ 20. Nathl., Willm. and Sarah, children of Mr. Richd. Johnson, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (21)  
 Nathl. born Lucknow 19th July, 1782; Sarah born Lucknow 30th Nov., 1782.  
 Entered (in register) 1st Sep., 1790. JOHN OWEN, Jr. Presy. Chapln.  
 „ 25. Eyre Coote, son of Peter Hay, Major, H. C.'s Service and Sarah, his wife.  
 Copy and Duplicate sent home. WM. JOHNSON.
- Feb. 6. Thos., son of Mr. Francis Gladwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (22)  
 „ 8. Chas., son of John Williams, Serjt. of Invalids.  
 „ 10. John, son of Mr. Thos. Law, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (23)  
 „ 10. George, Martha and Mary, children of Mr. Geo. Bogle. (24)  
 „ 20. Barbara Maria, daughter of Mr. Henry Richardson, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Frances his wife. (24A).  
 „ 27. Theophilus John, son of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq., Major H. C.'s Service, and Susanna Sophia Selina, his wife. (25).
- Mar. 7. Ann Elizth., daughter of Chas. Sealy, Esq., Advocate, and Mary, his wife. (26).  
 „ 26. Edwd. Melian Gallifer, son of Major Showers, H. C.'s Service and Melian, his wife.
- Apl. 2. Robt., son of the late Robt. Palk, Esq., Member of the Bd. of Trade, Godfathers; Sir Robt. Palk and Mr. Walter Palk, by their proxies, Hy. Vansittart, Esq. and Mr. Willard. Godmother: Mrs. Geo. Vansittart by her proxy, Mrs. Vansittart. (27)  
 „ 2. Ann, daughter of the said Robt. Palk, Esq. Godfather: Mr. Richd. Kennaway. Godmothers: Lady Palk by their (*sic*) proxies, Mrs. Powney and Miss Powney. (27A)  
 „ 12. Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. Saml. Charters, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte, his wife. (28)
- May 9. Sophana, daughter of Mr. Caleb John Garbrand, Portrait Painter. (29)  
 „ 14. Chas. Chambers Wilton, son of Mr. Anthony Bernard and Ann, his wife.

- May 20. George and Eliza, child of Capt. Robt. Gallispie, H. C.'s Mily. Service.
- June 8. Nancy Sadlier, daughter of Mr. Wm. Bruere, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service and Nancy, his wife. (30)
- „ 12. Alice, daughter of Mr. Jas. Hennes, Inhabt., and Mary, ditto.
- „ 24. Alexr., son of Catherine Lifterling, a Portuguese woman.
- July 17. George, son of Mr. Geo. Shee, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service and Elizth., his wife. (31)
- Aug. 24. Mary Ann, daughter of Lieut. Wm. Preston, Major of Brigade to the 2nd Brigade on this Estabt.
- „ 27. Francis Jas., son of of Mr. Frs. L'herondell, Atty.-at-law, and Mary, his wife. (32)
- „ 30. John Knight, son of Mr. John Hall, Factor, H. C.'s Service, and Joan, ditto. (33)
- Sept. 28. Willm., son of Lt.-Col. Allen Macpherson and Eliza, ditto.
- „ —. Chas., son of Mr. John Joys, Shopkeeper, and Mary, his wife. Privately.
- „ 29. Elizth., daughter of David Daniel, Conductor.
- Oct. 3. Donald, son of Neal Ryne, Soldr., King's 73rd Regt. and Ann, his wife.
- „ 28. Eliza, daughter of Mr. John Petrie, Sr. Mercht., and Ann, ditto.
- Nov. 8. Perretty Rawley, daughter of Mr. John Henry Guinaud and Charlotte, ditto. At Pultah.
- „ 8. Elizth. Juliana, daughter of Mr. Willm. Morley and Juliana Theresa, ditto. At Serampore. (34)
- „ 20. Paulina, daughter of Mr. John Belli, Factor, and Elizth. Stuart, ditto.
- „ 20. Frances, daughter of Capt. Chas. Ranken. (35)
- „ 24. Henry, son of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service and Catherine Mary, his wife. (36)
- „ 25. James, son of Col. Saml. Hampton and Margt., his decd. wife. (36A)
- „ 29. Thos. Henry, son of Mr. Thos. Graham, Sr. Mercht., and Ann, his wife. (37)
- „ 29. Harriet, daughter of Mr. Jos. Bernard Smith, Sr. Mercht., and Rose, ditto.
- Dec. 5. John Lloyd, son of John Prinsep, Esq.
- „ 10. Cecilia, daughter of Capt. Willm. Kirkpatrick. (38)
- „ 10. Mary, daughter of Louis Grant, Esq., Major on this Estabt.
- „ 10. Elizth., daughter of the late Lieut. Jas. Best.
- „ 10. Thos. Philip and Mary, sons and daughter of Philip Delisle, Esq. (39)
- „ 10. Elizth. Sophia, daughter of David Urquhart, Esq., Surgn.-Major on this Estabt.
- „ 10. Willm., son of the late Mr. John Hollingberry, Lieut. of Arty. on this Estabt. (40)

- Dec. 13. John, son of Mr. John Bond, Master of a Country Vessel, and Jeannie and Melany Cavillier, his wife.
- „ 13. Warren Hastings, son of Willm. Larkins, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Mary his wife. (41)
- „ 19. Ann, daughter of Matthew Steward, Serjt., 2nd Regt.
- „ 23. Thos. Henry, son of Capt. Thos. Call, Engr. : Corps on this Estabt., and Bethia, his wife. (42)
- „ 27. Sarah, Adult female servant of Mrs. Jackson, widow.
- „ —. Catherine, Female Servant of ditto. Aged about 10 years.
- „ 28. Elizth. and Willm., children of Mr. Wm. Douglas, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (43)
- „ 28. Lucy, daughter of Mr. Willm. Scott, Sr. Merchant, H. C.'s Service.
- „ 29. Archibald, son of Mr. Archd. Montgomerie, Sr. Mercht., Do. and Maria, his wife. (44)
- Copy and Duplicate of the Register of Baptisms for the year 1784 sent to the Court of Directors by the *Berrington* and *Hillsborough* Indiamen. T. B. Chapln. (45)

T. BLANSHARD.

1785.

- Jan. 2. Simeon, son of Simeon Droz, Esq., Member of the Bd. of Trade and Mary, his wife.
- „ 2. Sarah, daughter of Jas. Club, Drummer, 2nd Regt., and his wife.
- „ 4. Frances, daughter of Mr. Edwd. Eyre Burgess, Sr. Mercht. (46)
- „ 13. John Chas., son of Mr. John Bristow, Sr. Mercht., and Amelia, his wife.
- „ 13. Amelia, daughter of Mr. John Bristow, Sr. Mercht., and Amelia, his wife.
- „ 16. Constantia, daughter of Mr. John Andrews, Bookseller, and Constantia, his wife (47).
- „ 28. Page, son of Mr. Page Keble, Marine Paymaster, and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 29. Isabella, daughter of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke of Barrypore.
- Feb. 1. Sophia, daughter of Edwd. Clarke, Esq., Major in the Service. (48)
- „ 2. Francis and Martha, son and daughter of Mr. John Shore, Sr. Mercht. (49)
- „ 5. Willm. Hill, son of Wm. Jackson, Esq., Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
- „ 12. Trevor John Chicheley, son of Mr. Richd. Chicheley Plowden, Factor, H. C.'s Service, and Eliza Sophia, his wife. (50)
- „ 20. Henry, son of Chas. Williams and Ann, his wife.
- „ 28. Evan John, son of Capt. John Murray, Commissary-General, and Ann, his wife. (50A)
- Mar. 3. John Chas., son of Chas. Hutchinson Purling, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Elizth., his wife. (51)

- Mar. 26. Willm. Larkins and Anne Eyres, son and daughter of Capt. Saml. Watson, and Mary, his wife.
- Apl. 8. Hannah, daughter of Lieut. Jas. Agg of the Engineers. (52)
- „ 14. Chas., son of John Joys, Shopkeeper, and Mary, his wife. Publicly recd. having been privately baptised 28th Sep. last.
- „ 17. Mary, daughter of Wm. Francis, Serjt. of Invalids.
- „ 18. Chas. Theophilus, son of Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq., Major, H. C.'s Service, and Susannah Sophia Selina, his wife. (53)
- May 5. Francis Willm. Ulrick, son of Mr. Fras. Gladwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (54)
- „ 5. Arthur Jas., son of Mr. Robt. Arthur Pritchard and Mary, his wife.
- „ 10. Mary Charlotte, daughter of Col. Jas. Morgan, Commdg. H. C.'s 2nd Brigade, and Mary, his wife. (55)
- „ 18. Anne (born Futttyghur, 29 Dec. 1783) and John (born Futttyghur, 23 Dec. 1784), daughter and son of John Stormont, Surgn. H. C.'s Service, and Janet his wife. (55A)
- „ 22. Anne, daughter of Henry Geo. Augustus Howe, Conductor of Ordinance (*sic*). (56)
- June 5. Robt., son of Robt. Barr, Gunner of Arty.
- „ 16. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Francis Light, Master of the Snow "Industry." (57)
- „ —. Margaret, daughter of Capt. Robt. Limond, Sepoy Corps.
- July 20. John Cartwright, son of Mr. John Baxter, Shopkeeper, and Mary Ann, his wife. (Privately baptised. (58)
- Aug. 23. Eliza, daughter of Mr. Thos. Dashwood, writer, H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte Louisa, his wife. (59)
- Sep. 3. Mary, daughter of Thos. Alexr. Walton, Inhabt.
- „ 4. Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Hume Jackson, Taylor, and Ann, his wife. (60)
- „ 17. Willm. Walter, son of Mr. Geo. Elliot, writer in the Service. (61)
- „ —. Henry Walter, son of Lieut. Francis Rutledge of the Sepoys.
- „ 24. Tempe, daughter of Willm. Green, Esq., and Tempe his wife. (62)
- Oct. 2. George, son of the late Mr. Geo. Harrison, Surgn., H. C.'s Service, and Mary, his wife. (63)
- „ 2. Diana and Charlotte, daughters of Edwd. Baber, Esq. (64)
- „ 5. Eliza, daughter of Capt. Hugh Stafford, H. C.'s Service, and Thomasine, his wife.
- „ 9. Eleanora, daughter of Mr. Hugh Honeycomb and Elizabeth his wife. (65)
- „ 10. James, son of Mr. John Hollow and Theodosia, ditto.
- „ 23. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Bendley, Lieut. Fireworker of Arty.
- „ 30. Thos., son of Thos. Collett, Serjt. of Invalids.
- „ —. Juliana, daughter of Peter Nesbitt, Corpl., 2nd Europn. Regt.
- Nov. 2. Eldred Thos., son of Mr. Jos. Sherburne, Sr. Mercht. (66)

- Nov. 7. Jan Willem Frederik, son of Cornelis Van Citters, Esq., Chief of the Dutch Factory at Patna, and Julia Dorothea, his wife. (67)
- .. 21. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Herbert Harris, Sr. Merchant. Aged 4 years. (68)
- .. 21. Edward, son of Mr. Herbert Harris, Sr. Merchant. Aged 2 years.
- .. 26. Charlotte Russell, daughter of Mr. John Lewis Auriol, Jr. Mercht. (69)
- .. 30. Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Mr. Willm. Harding, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Harriet, his wife. (70)
- Dec. 2. Eleanor, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Massey Baker.
- .. 3. Frances, daughter of Capt. Geo. Hepburn and Alice, his wife.
- .. 10. Mary Frances, daughter of Mr. Willm. Bruere, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Nancy, his wife. Born 9th Nov. last.
- .. 15. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Chas. Child, Merchant, and Elizth., his wife. (71) Born 15th Oct.
- .. 19. Mary, daughter of Mr. Fairfax Moresby, Atty.-at-Law, and Mary, his wife (72)
- .. 25. Thos., son of John Davis, Sergt.-Major of Sepoys, and Hannah, do.
- .. 26. Elizth., daughter of Robt. Hollier, Clerk of the Church, and Fedelia his wife. (73)
- .. 27. Hastings, son of Major Wm. Palmer. (74)
- .. 29. Elizth. Mary, daughter of Mr. John Burgh, Free Mercht. and Elizth. Mary, his wife. (75)
- Copy and Duplicate of the Register for 1785 forwarded to the Hon. Court of Directors by the *King George* and *Dublin* Indiamen. T. B. (76).

T. BLANSHARD.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1) *Penelope Wheeler*.—Married in 1817 Charles John Craven and died in 1857.

*Edward Wheeler*: married Charlotte Durnford on December 10, 1780: died at Sooksagur on October 10, 1784. His first wife, Harriet Chicheley Plowden, came out with him on the *Duke of Portland* Indiaman (which left Portsmouth on April 30, 1777) and died seven months after their arrival in Calcutta on October 17 of that year. See Hickey's *Memoirs*, Vol. II p. 102.

(2) *Edward Hardwicke*: The register contains entries of the baptism of three other children: John Henry (January 7, 1779), William Eldred (January 7, 1781) and Isabella (January 28, 1785). Married Mary Porter, widow, on January 29, 1785. There is a reference to Hardwicke's house at Barrypore in Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, p. 325). On November 2, 1787, "a most tremendous hurricane" occurred: and great havoc was caused in Calcutta. Hickey writes: "An avenue of fine full-grown trees, consisting of at least a hundred, which led from the outer gate to the house door of Mr. Hardwicke at Barrypore, were, with the exception (I think) of six, every one blown down by the first gale from the north east, and lay upon the ground in the direction the wind blew from until the change to the south-east when many of them were actually forced round to a different position. Incredible as this appears, it is an undoubted fact, ascertained by the whole of Mr. Hardwicke's family, and by many of his friends." Barrypore (Baruipore), fifteen miles south of Calcutta, was formerly noted for its indigo factories. "We understand that the best indigo delivered on contract for the last year has been manufactured by Messrs. Wm. and Thos. Scott of Ghazipore and by Mr. Gwilt of Barrypore" (*Calcutta Gazette*, January 16, 1794).

(3) *Simeon Henry Boileau*.—Registrar, Persian Department. Born September 25, 1782. Died February 22, 1864.

*Thomas Boileau*, the father (admitted as an attorney, October 23, 1780) was under-sheriff in 1781 to Herbert Harris and churchwarden of St. John's Church in 1797. He died in Calcutta on June 11, 1806, aged 52: See note (71).

Samuel Davis, Accountant General at Fort William from 1804 to 1806, and Director of the Company from 1810 to 1819 (of Benares hogspear fame) married Henrietta Boileau at Burdwan on September 24, 1794: and Lestock Wilson, then Chief Officer of the *York* Indiaman, married another Miss Boileau at Madras in 1780 (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 9 & 10, and Vol. XXVI, p. 172). Joseph Farington records in his *Diary* (February 24, 1805) that "no less than 12 persons, relatives of Mrs. Wilson from Ireland, had been sent to India, namely, 9 young women and 3 boys" and that "the woemen were all married and some of them to great fortunes." Mrs. Wilson seems to have been the first of the "woemen" to get married, but there were at least two other Miss Boileaus who secured husbands before Mrs.

Davis. On May 19, 1791, John Reid, Surgeon in the Company's service, married Ann Boileau at Chittagong, the ceremony being performed by Shearman Bird (who came out as a writer in 1766 and "returned to Europe" in 1818) "no clergyman being resident at that place." They were re-married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on December 1, 1791, by the Rev Thomas Blanshard. On the same day the marriage was solemnized of John Lewis Chauvet, senior merchant in the Company's service, and Frances Boileau. Thomas Boileau signed the register in both cases. In the Calcutta Directory of 1803 the name of John Reid is given as that of a surgeon "fixed at his own option" at Lucknow since March 1, 1780. (Lestock Robert Reid was in the Bombay Civil Service from 1817 to 1850: and was member of Council at that Presidency: he died in 1878). Chauvet was Resident at Jellalore in 1786, and was sent in charge of a mission to Cooch Behar in 1788. He died on August 15, 1794, at the age of 54, and is buried in one of the closed and walled-in cemeteries at Arrah. His widow, says Farington in the entry quoted, remained in Bengal and "afterwards there married a Mr. Franco, a relative of the Jew family here" (sc. in London). Franco died, and "she being left without property, and having 2 sons by him, a subscription was made in India which made up about £400 a year for her support."

(3A) *Sir Robert Chambers*—see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 151. His eldest daughter Frances Maria (baptized in Calcutta on March 2, 1775) married in 1799 Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonald, Military and Civil Engineer at Bencoolen, (died 1831), who was the son of the famous Flora Macdonald. He came out to Bombay as an infantry cadet in 1780, was transferred to the Bengal Engineers in 1782, and retired in 1800.

(4) *Thomas Dashwood*: Writer 1781: Superintendent for the supply of Stationery, 1785: Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Calcutta, 1800. Died December 20, 1825. Second son of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., of Kirtlington Park, M.P. for Oxfordshire, Born 1749: married February 23, 1782, Charlotte Louisa Auriol (not Sarah, as in the entry), who died on January 10, 1838. She was a sister of John Lewis Auriol, Secretary to Government under Warren Hastings, and James Peter Auriol: see note (69). Their eldest son, Thomas James, born November 17, 1782, was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1810 to 1836 (Judge of Tirhoot, died June 17, 1836, "on board the steamboat off Mirzapore.")

*Charlotte Sophia Louisa*, the child here christened, married firstly in 1802 the Hon'ble Charles Andrew Bruce (writer 1783: died 1810) brother of the seventh Earl of Elgin and afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island (whose first wife Anna Maria Blunt was the daughter of Sir Charles Blunt, the "bankrupt baronet," who ultimately died worth £100,000: she died in Calcutta in 1798, aged 23) and secondly in 1813 James Alexander of Somerhill in Kent.

(5) *Louisa Dacres Moore*: God-daughter evidently of Philip Milner Dacres, name-father of Dacres Lane in Calcutta, (described in an indenture of December 20, 1783, as "a public lane leading from his dwelling house to the Esplanade.") He arrived in Bengal in 1756, and was assistant warehouse

keeper at the time of the siege. President of the Committee of Revenue in 1774, Collector of Calcutta in 1776, and President of the Board of Trade in 1779: retired in 1784.

For an account of *Peter Moore*: See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 180—184: Vol. XXVII, p. 222).

(6) *Maria Catharine Hyde*.—John Hyde, the father, died in Calcutta on July 8, 1796, at the age of 59, after more than 21 years of continuous service as a judge of the Supreme Court. His wife, Mary, was the daughter of Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, and son of the Duke of Somerset. She married Hyde on September 1, 1773, and came out as a bride. On February 4, 1798, she married the Rev. John Payne: and died on April 12, 1814 at the age of 62. There is a tablet to her memory in Wells Cathedral Cloisters.

(7) *John Henry Guinaud*.—of Pultah, died on April 18, 1790, aged 30. Henry Guinaud, who may have been his father, was appointed by the Directors in March, 1770, to be Superintendent of Piece Goods in Bengal at a salary of £400 a year, with £20 per calendar month for subsistence instead of diet money "and he is to have all his travelling charges and the expenses of his passage out and voyage home." It was at Pultah that John Prinsep set up his mint.

(8) *Charles Lionel Showers*.—Senior Captain of the 19th Regiment of Bengal Infantry, killed on April 25, 1815, in the assault on the fortified heights of Malaun (during the Nepal War) when he "led one of the principal columns to a separate attack in the most gallant style and gloriously fell at its head just when in personal conflict he had with his own hand slain the chief of the enemy." There is a monument to his memory in St. John's Church. Warren Hastings was his godfather. For a notice of his parents see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 150, 151.

(9) The *Rodney* Indiaman (755 tons: Captain Henry Wakeman) arrived in the Downs on May 28, 1784.

*William Johnson*—was appointed junior chaplain in 1772 and became senior chaplain in 1784. On June 1, 1774, he married Frances Watts, the widow of William Watts: and returned to Europe in 1788. His wife (the famous "Begum Johnson") refused to accompany him and lived in Calcutta until her death in 1812 at the age of 87. The old burying ground of the settlement adjoining St. John's Church, which had been closed for forty years, was reopened in her honour (1). She had first come to Calcutta in 1744.

(10) *Lewis Selby*.—Married Mehetable Gasquoine on January 13, 1777. The date of the second marriage has not been traced. "Selby's Club was a famous resort for gamblers, until Lord Cornwallis put down the public play-

(1) St. John's Church was not consecrated until June 24, 1787. After the destruction of St. Anne's Church in the siege of 1756, the Portuguese Church of Our Lady of the Rosary was used, until the building in 1760 of "St. John's Chapel" inside the Old Fort, immediately south of the great east gateway. Mention is made of this chapel in *Hartley House* (1789): and also by Mrs. Kindersley (1768) who says: "the only apology for a Church is in some of the rooms in the old fort where divine service is performed,"

ing of games of hazard with a high hand" (Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, p. 151). Selby's gaming-house was in Mission Row to the south of the Mission Church and next to the building (now No. 8) inscribed with the name of General Clavering. Mission Row was known originally as the Rope Walk, but will be found under its present name in Col. Mark Wood's map of 1784-1788. In contemporary conveyances of property it is designated "the road past the Court House," which then stood on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk. According, however, to a writer in the *Statesman* of May 31, 1924, Selby's Club was located in the vicinity of Tel Bazar, the old name of that part of Chowringhee which extends from Dhurrumtollah Corner to Park Street. "One of the row of houses once occupied by the boarding establishment of Mrs. Monk on the site of the present Grand Hotel was known as the "Purana Club," and that seems to point to Selby's." This theory is not supported by contemporary evidence. Cf. a letter written by William Johnson, merchant in Calcutta (2), to his mother (quoted in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XIV, p. 209). "We have taken up residence again in Calcutta in a house where a Club called 'Selby's Club' was once kept notorious to all gamblers. However, as this may not lead you to the exact spot, it is southwards of the Mission, or old Kiernander's Church, the next house in the same line to General Clavering's, which I know you recollect. To conclude, our house was built by Mr. Charles Child in 1775. It is an amazing large house." For Charles Child, see note (71). The demolition of the building was recorded in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1915 (Vol. X, p. 168).

(11) *Simon Baillie*.—Ensign, Madras Infantry, December 10, 1774: Lieutenant, October 27, 1780: Captain Lieutenant February 21, 1786. On leave to Europe for three years from March 20, 1786. Placed on half pay, April 1, 1790. Dismissed. (MS. List of the Madras Army, 1787, corrected up to 1793, published by the Government of Fort Saint George in 1909). Possibly a relative of Hugh Baillie, a pioneer of commerce in the Assam Valley (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 143) whose daughter Ann (baptized in Calcutta in June 16, 1767) married on April 3, 1788, Thomas Henry Davies (died in Calcutta on January 21, 1792) the successor of Sir John Day as Advocate General.

(12) *Henry Scott*.—Secretary to the Board of Revenue in June 1786.

13 *Whingates*.—The name should be "Whinyates": See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 167.

Colonel *George Burrington*, after whom the child is evidently named, took part in the operations against Tippoo in 1790 and fell in the action against the Rohillas at Dalmow, under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby, on October 26, 1794. His name will be found at the head of those inscribed on the Rohilla cenotaph in St. John's Churchyard.

(2) There were three William Johnsons in Calcutta at this time—the chaplain (husband of "Begum Johnson"), a merchant, and an attorney who was Clerk of the Peace. The last named married the widow of Major Tolly, the excavator of Tolly's Nulla, on January 12, 1788. William Johnson, coachmaker, died in Calcutta on October 8, 1784.

(14) *Richard Litchfield*.—Figures in the Narrative of G. F. Grand as the attestator of copies of depositions taken in the Grand-Francis trial. Married on July 19, 1781, Mary Fraser, daughter of Archibald Fraser, Sealer of the Supreme Court, who was a nephew of Sir Elijah Impey and was given a lucrative contract for keeping bridges and embankments in repair (Poolbundy), which scandal (and Hicky's *Gazette*) asserted to be a mere *benami* transaction in favour of the Chief Justice. Two other daughters of Fraser, Jane and Charity, married Charles Grant and William Chambers: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 152.

(15) *John Joys*.—or Joyce: a Scandinavian: at one time Keeper of the Jail: and Master of the "Harmonic." On July 6, and again on July 13, 1781, requests to be relieved of the office of "Keeper of the French Prison" (O. C. July 16, 1781, Nos. 24, 26). Described as a shopkeeper in entry of September 28, 1784: and apparently in partnership with John Baxter: See note (58). An indenture of May 1, 1788, shows that the Harmonic Tavern was then in the occupation of Messrs. Baxter and Joys (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 23). Joys married Mary Webster on March 27, 1782. She died on May 1, 1787, aged 28, and is buried in South Park Street cemetery. He then married Sarah Simpson on December 1, 1787.

(16) *John Prinsep*: See *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. XXVI, p. 154. His wife Sophia was a sister of James Peter and John Lewis Auriol. Mrs. Dashwood was another sister: see notes (4) and (69).

(17) *Nathaniel Middleton*: nicknamed "Memory Middleton," because, when giving evidence before Parliament at the trial of Warren Hastings, "he exhibited a total want of recollection of all facts and circumstances which he conceived could tend to the prejudice of his patron:" see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVI, p. 163. A different explanation is given in the following entry in the Journal of Lady Nugent:

August 5, 1812 (Chupra): We were obliged, on account of the weather, to come to at a bank, just below Mr. Middleton's house: he is a brother of the Mr. M. who was remarked for the wonderful powers of his recollection and was in consequence called Memory Middleton. A son of the latter was living with his uncle, and they paid us a visit in our boats.

He married Anna Francis Morse on October 26, 1780, and died in 1807. A portrait of him by Zoffany, which is in the possession of Mr. H. B. Middleton, of Bradford Peverell, Dorchester, represents him as Resident at Lucknow with three Indian officials in attendance. It is reproduced by Williamson (p. 110).

The brother was *Samuel Middleton* (writer 1778) who was baptised in Calcutta on January 9, 1763. They were the sons of Samuel Middleton who arrived in Bengal in 1753, and was second in Council, Resident at Moorsheadabad and Chief of Cossimbazar in 1772 and President of the Board of Trade in 1774. He died at Pirpainti near Bhagalpur in 1775: see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV, p. 153. Samuel Middleton the younger acted for a time

as Police Magistrate in Calcutta, where he acquired much property and gave his name to Middleton Street and Middleton Row. In December, 1792, he was appointed "Commissioner in the Sunderbunds for suppressing the depredations of dacoits:" and in 1800 became Judge and Collector of Jessore.

His son was *Henry Johnson Middleton* (writer 1807) who had been on February 8, 1812, appointed assistant to the Collector of Sarun and officiated as Collector from October 17, 1812 to November 27, 1813. He was Commissioner of Dacca from 1832 to 1833 and retired on annuity on May 1, 1836.

(18) *William Cator*:—"a man of large independent fortune who late in life having lost a material proportion thereof, was induced to return to Bengal, in the hope of increasing his substance, and was killed on board the *Kent* Indiaman in an action 'with a French privateer close to Balasore Roads' on October 7, 1800: (see note (37) and Hickey, *Memoirs* Vol. III. p. 155). He married Sarah Morse, a sister of Robert Morse, on November 4, 1780: see *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. XXVI, p. 163. At one time he held a commission in the Bengal Infantry, but resigned it upon appointment as a factor. His brother Joseph Cator was private Secretary to Richard Barwell: and by his marriage with Diana Bertie (on October 31, 1780) became the father of General Sir William Cator, R.A., and Admiral Bertie Cator. He seems to have made a collection of pictures while in India: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 223. For the Bertie sisters (who came out with William Hickey on the *Seahorse* in 1777) see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVI, p. 161. (David Arthur, Captain of the *Seahorse* Indiaman, married Susan Bertie in Calcutta on September 22, 1774).

(19) *James Carey*:—The *Atlas* Indiaman (758 tons. Capt. Allen Cooper) sailed from Portsmouth for "the Coast and China" on March 7, 1779 and arrived back in the Downs on October 20, 1781. This was her first voyage. Her second voyage which was also to "the Coast and Bay," began on March 11, 1783, when she sailed from Portsmouth. In January 1784, she left Calcutta on her return voyage, carrying such distinguished passengers as Mrs. Hastings and Augustus Cleveland, and arrived in the Downs on July 28, following.

(20) *Edward Dashwood*:—Died in Calcutta on December 22, 1806, aged 19. The father married Charlotte Louisa Auriol. See notes (4) and (69).

(21) *Richard Johnson*—Nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds. (See article on the Farington Diary: *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. XXIV, p. 36). Resident at Lucknow at the time of the birth of the children. Returned to England in 1789. He was a large owner of house-property in Calcutta. On January 31, 1788, he sold for sa. Rs. 45,000 to Thomas Henry Davies (the Advocate General) an upper roomed dwelling house and 1 bigha and 17 cottahs of ground "to the eastward of the great road leading from the Old Court House to the Esplanade" (Old Court House Street) and "exactly the east side of the Governor General's House," the southern boundary being "the great road running east and west with the Esplanade." The house must have been on the site of the block now known as Esplanade Buildings which formerly went by the name of Scott Thomson's Corner.

Johnson's art collection was purchased by the East India Company in 1807: and nine old Indian water-colours, which form part of it, now hang in the Secretary of State's room at the India Office.

(22) *Francis Gladwin*.—commenced his career in the Bengal Army: Writer 1766. Assistant in Bhoosna to the Supervisor of Rajshahye in 1772. Was Collector of Silberis (Bogra) for a number of years and in 1779 was called upon to explain discrepancies in his accounts (1779 O. C. Dec. 27. No. 21). On April 3, 1781 he forwarded from Silberis for transmission to England 100 copies of his Persian-Hindustani-English Dictionary which had been subscribed for by the Court of Directors. In 1783 he laid before the Council his proposed translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*: when the following minute was recorded: "The Governor-General thinks it proper to add that having seen and approved a specimen of the translation a twelve month ago, he advised Mr. Gladwin to prosecute it." Gladwin seems then to have been living in Calcutta: for a year later, on February 9, 1784, it is announced officially that "the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council have permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a gazette under their sanction and authority:" and the first number of the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser* appeared on March 4., In 1787 he mentions in a letter to the Board of Revenue that he had filed a bill in equity against Ranchurn Banazee (Ramcharan Banerjee) "for the discovery of frauds committed by him while employed by me in the collection of the revenues of Silberis." From November 1788 to May 1789, and again from 1793 to 1799, he was Collector of Calcutta, holding that office (says Mr. R. C. Sterndale in his *Historical Account of the Collectorate of Calcutta*) for a longer period than any of his predecessors or immediate successors, with the exception of Mr. Charles Trower (Collector from 1823 to 1835: died at Calcutta, November 19, 1842). Published a "Narrative of Transactions in Bengal" in 1788: and also a number of Oriental works. He would appear to have been in low water in 1790, for in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 17 of that year, we find a letter from him addressed to the Commissioners of the Court of Requests of the Town of Calcutta and applying for the post of clerk which had become vacant. He represents himself as "a very old servant of the Company, whose situation and misfortunes give him a reasonable claim to the assistance of his brother servants, and whose qualifications, from his knowledge of the country languages and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the natives render him, he flatters himself, equal to the discharge of the duties of the office he solicits." Appointed first Professor of Persian at the College of Fort William in 1801: Collector of Government Customs and City duties at Patna May 5, 1801: Commissary resident at Patna, 1808. Married at Patna on December 5, 1769, to Ann Proctor "by Simeon Droz Esq.," and secondly, on July 11, 1782, to Sarah Alexander. Died at Patna on October 23, 1812 (see entry in *Calcutta Directory* for 1813). The following books by Gladwin are advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 29, 1822 as being for sale at "Mr. Thacker's, St. Andrew's Library, near the Scotch Church:" Ulfat Udviah, 4to Rs. 20: Goolistan, Persian and English, with notes, 2

vols. Rs. 32: Persian, Hindoostanee and English Dictionary, 2 vols. 8vo. Rs. 24.

(23) *Thomas Law*: was in the Company's service from 1773 to 1791. He was the sixth son of Edmund Law, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Bishop of Carlisle from 1768 to 1787. "Sahibgunge (a suburb of Gaya) was laid out by Mr. Law, a Collector (of Behar) at the end of the eighteenth century, after whom it was called Illahabad or Law's city. Stretching along the river bank are the old houses formerly occupied by the European residents," (Gaya District Gazetteer, 1906, p. 212). Grand (Narrative, p. 128) tells us that Law was transferred in 1788 from the Collectorship of Gaya to the Board of Revenue.

There are interesting references to Thomas Law in Twining's "Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago" and in "Recollections of the (French) Revolution" by the Marquise de la Tour du Pin. Both met him in America where he had gone after his retirement from the Company's service. Twining stayed with him in 1796 in his house on the banks of the Potomac at Washington, "the contemplated metropolis of the United States," where he had invested largely in land and thereby "compromised the greater part of his fortune." The Marquise, who was in America in 1794, also stayed with him. She describes him as "a tall, blond man, 40 or 45 years of age, with a handsome, sad face:" and gives some curious details of his life in India, "where for a period of 14 years he had been in the employment of the Government of Patna or some similar post." There he had "married a rich Indian widow by whom he had two sons, who were still children." His "wife died and left him her fortune:" but he had found life in England dull and came out to America. He had a house at New York as well as at Washington. His second wife, assuming the regularity of his relations with the "rich Indian widow," was Eliza Custis, the step-daughter of George Washington. He died in 1834, leaving a daughter who married Lloyd N. Rogers of Maryland.

A boy of five or six years of age named Thomas Law, was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* off the coast of Africa, on August 4, 1782 and died of exposure on land on November 4. A picture entitled "The Death of Master Law, a passenger in the 'Grosvenor'" was painted by George Carter (3) and was advertised for sale by auction in Calcutta on December 28, 1793 by Messrs. Dring Cleland and Company, together with other pictures by the same artist (*Calcutta Gazette* for December 5, 1793).

Miss Gertrude Law, of Oakhurst, Midhurst, owned in 1920 a portrait by Zoffany of "Tom Law" the elder, painted before he went to America to the order of his elder brother Ewan Law, also of the Company's service in Bengal. Ewan Law married in 1784 Henrietta Sarah, eldest daughter of William Markham, Archbishop of York, whose portrait by Reynolds hangs in Christ Church Hall at Oxford, and whose son William was Resident at Benares in 1781 at

(3) George Carter wrote an account of the loss of the *Grosvenor* Indianman from materials collected from a seaman who was on board and made his way with great difficulty to the Cape of Good Hope.—*Anecdotes of Painters*, by Edward Edwards, A.R.A. (1808, p. 234).



the time of the insurrection of Cheyt Singh. Farington mentions in his diary that in the autumn of 1793 he made an excursion to the Thames Valley in order to prepare the series of drawings which were published in the following year as aquatints engraved by Stadler. He was advised, he says, to take a sketch of Culham, near Oxford, "as it may induce a certain set of subscribers." The large house here was rented by Ewan Law, "who made a fortune in India." Of the Bishop of Carlisle's six other sons, one, Edward, became Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench and Baron Ellenborough, and was the father of the Earl of Ellenborough, Governor General of India from 1842 to 1844. Another Law, Francis, who was in the Company's service, was Chief at Chittagong from 1776 to 1778 and died at Dacca on September 22, 1792, aged 47. Sir Thomas Rumbold married as his second wife Johanna, the daughter of the Bishop of Carlisle.

No less than seven members of the Law family served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1792 to 1842: William (writer 1792, died at Calcutta in 1802) Francis (writer 1793, retired on annuity, 1828), James (writer 1794, died at Moidapore near Moorshedabad, 1812), Mathew (writer 1797, resigned 1815), George Ewan (writer 1812, died at Calcutta 1820) Ewan (writer 1818, died near Colgong, 1818) and William Alexander (writer 1827, died at Calcutta 1842).

(24) *George Bogle*.—Writer 1769: arrived in Calcutta 1770: Registrar of the Midnapur Adawlut, 1773: sent by Warren Hastings on a mission to the Deo Rajah of Bhutan and the Teshu Lama of Tibet, 1774. Put forward by Warren Hastings and Barwell in August 1775, for the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa Records (the Khalsa supervised the proceedings of the Collectors of Districts) but rejected on account of his "immature age" by Clavering, Monson and Francis, who voted for George Gustavus Ducarel (See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 154). Collector of Rangpur, 1779 to December 1780. Died at Calcutta on April 3, 1781. The monument in "the Great Burial Ground, Chouringhee" was erected by "his most affectionate friends David Anderson and Claud Alexander." It was of Anderson that Hastings wrote that he "gained the treaty of Salbai by peculiar talents and wariness."

The child George died on September 4, 1784.

(24A) *Henry Richardson*.—being then a Factor, married Frances Northall at Patna on January 12, 1777. President of the Court of Justice at Chinsurah, 1783. Was also Collector of Hooghly. Resigned the service, 1785, and died in England, 1787.

(25) *Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe*.—Ensign, July 31, 1767: Lieutenant, September 23, 1767: Major, July 28, 1781: Military Store-keeper in Bengal, 1783: struck off, 1793. Married at Calcutta on April 18, 1782, Mrs. Susanna Sophia Selina Smith, widow of Major John Smith, of the Madras Establishment (died 1778) whom she had married at St. Mary's Church, Fort Saint George, on August 24, 1776, and who was the brother of General Richard Smith (as to whom see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192). The father of the Smiths, according to William Hickey, (Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 236)

kept a small cheesemonger's shop in St. James Market, Jermyn Street. Metcalfe was a Director of the East India Company from 1789 to 1812: M. P. for Abingdon, 1802: created a baronet, 1803. died, 1813. Many details of his early career in India, not all of a complimentary character, are given by Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. I pp. 164-165, and *passim*).

*Lady Metcalfe*: (born 1756) was the daughter of John Debonnaire, "merchant at Lisbon and in the East Indies," who died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1786. Two of her sisters were born at Madras: Anne (1768) and Jane Louisa (1765). The former married at Calcutta on January 10, 1786, Colonel the Hon'ble William Monson (1760-1807) son of the second Lord Monson, who retreated before Holkar in 1804: their son, William John, was the sixth Lord Monson. Jane married John Richardson, of the Company's service, at Cawnpore in 1793.

*Theophilus John Metcalfe* was the 2nd Baronet. He was appointed to a cadetship on the Company's China Establishment and became President of the Select Committee at Canton. He was born on September 9, 1783, married on March 2, 1804, Selina Sophia Russell, niece of Sir Henry Russell (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Fort William from 1807 to 1813, and puisne judge from 1798 to 1807) and died on August 15, 1822: when he was succeeded by his next brother Charles Theophilus, afterwards Lord Metcalfe: see note (53).

(26) For an account of *Charles Sealy* see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155-156. Through his daughter Mary Ursula (baptized in Calcutta on April 18, 1774) who married on September 15, 1794, Thomas Baring (Collector of the 24 Pergunnahs 1796), he became the great grandfather of the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy of India from 1872 to 1876.

(27) *Robert Palk*:—Buxey, 1773: Import Warehouse keeper, 1782. As "Judge of the Court of Cutchery," committed Nuncoomar for forgery in 1775. His wife, Lucia Stonhouse, whom he married on June 12, 1770, died on June 22, 1772. The inscription on her tombstone in the South Park Street burial ground is quoted by Rudyard Kipling in his *City of Dreadful Night*.

An account may be found in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. III, p. 42, (among the extracts from Mr. Justice Hyde's notebooks) of an action brought by Palk in January 1782 in the Supreme Court against George Williamson "for the use and occupation of a house called the Old Playhouse," which was situated in Lall Bazar a little to the east of the Rope Walk (Mission Row) and was the predecessor of the one in Lyon's Range which was erected in 1775. The Court of Directors had in March 1758 authorized the conversion of the Old Playhouse at the Company's expense into a place of worship "as it was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Calcutta." It became, however, the property of Robert Dobinson, the Company's Vendu Master (or auctioneer) who mortgaged it to Palk. In 1781 Palk foreclosed on the mortgage, but Williamson, the new Vendu Master (4), who was

(4) George Williamson was a very old inhabitant of Calcutta. A letter dated January 20, 1757 from him to his brother-in-law "Mr. Ferguson at the Globe in the Strand" was published in the *London Chronicle* of July 28, 1757, and is reproduced in S. C. Hill's *Bengal*

in possession refused to vacate. Sir Elijah Impey, in giving judgment for the plaintiff with damages amounting to Arcot Rs. 16,416, said: "some years ago, Mr. Palk and Mr. Williamson were both charged with having defrauded the Company of considerable sums, and an order came out from the Directors that they should refund, and for that refusal they were turned out. Mr. Palk gave a bond to the Company for the money he was ordered to refund, which bond he never paid any part of." Palk resigned the service in 1783 and died in the year following.

Palk's kinsman, *Sir Robert Palk*, was originally in Holy Orders, and subsequently became Governor of Fort Saint George from 1763 to 1767, and M. P. for Ashburton, 1767-68 and 1774-87: created a Baronet, 1772: a strong supporter of Warren Hastings: died May 1798. He married Anne Vansittart, grand-daughter of Sir John Stonhouse, third baronet of Radley, Berks. According to Farington (Diary September 29, 1809), he was the son of a butcher at Ashburton, and was left a fortune by Major General Stringer Lawrence. His son Lawrence, the second baronet, was the founder of Torquay. The baronetcy is now merged in the Haldon peerage. Another Palk, Thomas, was in the Madras Civil Service from 1769 to 1793.

*Mrs. George Vansittart*.—Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, seventh Bart, (and sister of Lucia Palk) married George Vansittart of the Company's service, at Calcutta on October 24, 1776: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 144. There is a reference to George Vansittart in the Farington Diary (September 29, 1804) which indicates that he was no believer in the advantages of an "Europe morning:"

Mr. Vansittart, who resides at Bisham Abbey, near Marlow, has a singularity, that of causing all His family to rise at 6 o'clock in the morning, and that when they do it by candlelight.

Vansittart came out to Bengal as a writer in 1761: was Resident at Midnapore in 1768, one of the first supervisors in 1769, second member of the Board of Revenue at Patna in 1771, and Chief of Patna in 1772. He and his wife were in England at the time of this entry: for he was M.P. for Berkshire from 1784 to 1812: and died in 1825. Mention is made in the same entry of George Vansittart's elder brother Arthur (see No. 4 in genealogical table of the Vansittart family on the opposite page:)

Mr. Paine (attorney at Maidenhead) mentioned the unhappy state of mind of Mr. Vansittart who lives at Shottesbrooke and was 34 years member for Berkshire [query, 17 years: 1757-1774]. He is very much respected and has done much good: a man of great habitual order and in very good circumstances: but of late has become possessed with a notion that He has not property and shall come to want. The Van-

in 1756-1757 (Vol. III, pp. 85-88). He describes Calcutta after the siege: "as for myself, seven months ago, I was worth £350 in ready money: now I am reduced so as not to be worth a groat, as is almost every man in Bengal." His name appears on the list of civil pensioners in 1802. He married Eleanor Howett on December 26, 1761. Her sister Martha married on November 21 in the same year Philip Milner Dacres: as to whom see note (5).





sittarts were originally a Dutch family and came over with King William, but from being Whigs, afterwards became Tories.

*Mrs. Henry Vansittart.*—See next note and note (36). She was a Miss Powney.

(27A) *Richard Kennaway*—Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1785 : Import Warehouse Keeper, 1793. Acted with Henry Vansittart as executors of the will of Robert Palk : and in that capacity sold to Captain Charles Ranken on April 26, 1784, for sicca Rs. 36,000, a house and twenty bighas of ground " at Cheringay in or near Calcutta, bounded on the south by the highway leading to the Burying Ground " now known as Park Street, (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 19).

Another of Palk's houses with seven cottahs of ground, which was sold by Vansittart and Kennaway to Thomas Boileau for current Rs. 6,200 on June 15, 1784, is described in the indenture as " bound on the west by a new house erected and built by Mr. Thomas Lyon lately in the occupation of Mr. John Zoffany, portrait painter," (ibid, p. 21). The exact locality cannot be determined from the other boundaries given in the document : but it seems to have been in the neighbourhood of the " high road southward of the Great Tank or Loll Diggy," by which apparently Council House Street is intended.

*Mrs. Powney.*—Hickey's *Gazette* records : " Deaths at Madras. May the 7th, 1780. Mrs. Mary Powney, upwards of one hundred years of age, the relict of Captain Powney, commanding a ship out of Madras, and the oldest resident there." She was the daughter of Captain George Heron, who was appointed pilot apprentice in 1668 with five others, and was the first to make a chart of the Hooghly river (died at Madras May 2, 1727, aged 81, after a residence in India of 61 years). The tomb of her husband John Powney, whom she married on February 15, 1706 and who died on September 10, 1740, may be seen in the compound of the High Court at Madras (J. J. Cotton, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, No. 98). They had seventeen children, of whom the husband of the Mrs. Powney mentioned here (Thomas Powney of the Madras Civil Service, born 1721, died in Calcutta on November 10, 1782) was one. The Powney family were close friends of Warren Hastings.

*Miss (Charlotte) Powney* : married on September 7, 1785, to Benjamin Grindall of the Bengal Civil Service who died at Patna in July 1797. The first husband of her sister, Catherine Mary, was Henry Vansittart : see note (36). Two other sisters were married in Calcutta, Caroline on December 8, 1790, to William Kervill Amherst, Collector of Rungpore (who died at that place on April 29, 1792) and Frances, on October 26, 1789, to John Rawlins of Patna (she died at that place on January 1, 1804, aged 30 years). A brother, Thomas Powney (writer 1797), was Collector of Jessore from 1809 until his retirement on annuity in January 1815.

(28) *Samuel Charters* :—arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1769 : one of the earliest Collectors of Jessore (1773) : Buxey to the Board of Trade, 1775 : Member of the Committee of Revenue, 1781 : Judge of Appeal at Patna, 1781.

Died at Patna, July 25, 1795. He was one of the Committee appointed in 1792 to enquire into the conduct of George Francis Grand, Judge and Magistrate of the City of Patna (Grand's Narrative: 1911 reprint: p. 231).

(29) *Caleb John Garbrand*.—A "limner" who has failed to achieve fame. Matthew Wilmot was another forgotten painter in Calcutta at the time: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 152.

(30) *William Bruere*.—Secretary to the Governor General in Council, from 1781 to 1787, when he became Customs Master at Cox's Bazar. Married Nancy Sadlier: see note (43). Applied in December, 1787, for a passage to Europe for his wife and three children. Returned to Europe in 1795. Among the nineteen paintings by Zoffany which belonged to General Claude Martin and were sold by auction at Calcutta on December 29, 1801, were a full length portrait of Mrs. Bruere and a group representing Bruere with his wife and five children. A reproduction of the latter picture, which is in the possession of Mr. William Asch, is given by Williamson (p. 107).

(31) *George Shee*.—Afterwards received a Baronetcy. Figured prominently in the Francis-Grand trial. "I will ask no more questions," said Impey, C.J., "as I see we do not agree upon the point of honour, for I confine honour to morality." He married a famous Calcutta beauty, Eliza Crisp, at Hooghly in 1783: see note (43): and returned to Europe in March 1788 (Hickey's Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 325). His sister, Ann Shee, married John Evelyn, senior merchant, at Dacca on April 14, 1787. According to a note in Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer's *Life of Lord Palmerston* (Vol. I, p. 17), Shee held a number of important offices after his return: and became successively Surveyor General of the Ordinance, Secretary of the Treasury, and Receiver General in Ireland and Under Secretary of State in England.

His son *George* (the subject of this entry) was born in Calcutta on June 14, 1784, and succeeded him in the baronetcy. He was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1830 to 1834, Minister at Berlin from 1834 to 1841, and Minister at Stuttgart from 1841 to 1844. He died in London on January 25, 1870. There is no mention either of father or of son in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

(32) *Francis James L'herondell*.—The child here baptized died in Calcutta in 1831. He was an assessor under the Town Magistrate at the time of his death. The father died in 1788.

(33) *John Hall*.—Writer 1777: deputy secretary to the Board of Trade 1784: officer in charge of Stationery, 1799: paymaster of the artillery, garrison and ordnance department, 1800. Married on July 20, 1783, Joan Durham, sister of Hercules Durham, advocate, who was Counsel for the Crown at the trial of Nuncoomar, but broke down in health, and was obliged to leave the cross-examination of the witnesses to the judges.

(34). *William Morley*.—"Gentleman," married on March 9, 1782, Juliana Theresia Bie, daughter of Colonel Ole Bie, Danish Governor of Serampore: as to whom see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166. Another of his daughters, Matilda, was married firstly to John Carmichael, of the Company's

service, on January 22, 1779, and secondly to Frederick Shafalitsky de Muckadd, the Danish Consul in India, on November 8, 1784.

(35) *Charles Ranken*.—Captain, Bengal Engineers. In 1781-1785 was constructing the "new Road from Calcutta to Chunargur:" see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 32-33: and note (27A).

(36) *Henry Vansittart*.—the father: was born on March 19, 1755 at Fort Saint George (where his father was then Member of Council) and baptized on April 30, at St. Mary's Church in the Fort by Robert Palk then Presidency Chaplain and afterwards Governor: see note (27). His godfathers were the Hon'ble George Pigot (Governor of Fort Saint George) and Nicholas Morse as proxy for his uncle Arthur Vansittart (see genealogical table No. 4). He entered the Company's service on the Bengal Establishment and was Comptroller of Salt Revenue at the time of his death in Calcutta on October 7, 1786, aged 32: "a steady friend" (William Hickey, *Memoirs* Vol. III, p. 515). His tomb is in the South Park Street Cemetery. A portrait of him by Zoffany is preserved at Shottesbrooke House in Berkshire, and a photograph of the picture, which was presented by Mr. C. N. Vansittart in 1911, may be seen in Room 87 (ground floor) at the India Office. His wife, Catherine Mary, whom he married on January 26, 1783, was a daughter of Mrs. Powney, an old Madras friend of Warren Hastings: see note (27A). She married as her second husband in 1791 George Nesbitt Thompson, the private secretary of Hastings.

*Henry Vansittart*.—junior, whose baptism is here recorded, was born on July 10, 1784. His godfathers were Warren Hastings and George Vansittart, his uncle, and his godmother, Mrs. Hastings. He married the widow of Sir Charles Turner, Bart, at Grosvenor Chapel in London on July 21, 1812, and died at Eglinton Castle on April 22, 1848. High Sheriff of York, 1820. There are references to him and his wife in the Nesbitt Thompson papers (see Nos. 196, 197, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 76-80).

(36A) *Samuel Hampton* married Sarah Hick on September 1, 1765: but he must have been twice married in addition. Samuel Hampton, "son of Samuel Hampton and Frances his wife" was baptized on February 19, 1765: and the name of the wife in the present entry is given as Margaret. These marriages cannot be traced in the registers of St. John's Church. Hampton was one of the largest house owners in Calcutta.

(37). *Thomas Henry Graham*.—"Fell gloriously" in an action between the H. E. I. Co's ship *Kent* and the French privateer in the mouth of the Ganges on October 7, 1800, "the day in which he completed his 16th year." He was "about to commence his career as a Civil Servant in the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Establishment" (see Ben. Obit. p. 171: monument in North Park Street Cemetery). The action which lasted for an hour and forty seven minutes, took place off the Sandheads, and the *Kent* (820 tons) was captured after losing her Commander (Captain Robert Rivington) and twenty-two men killed, and thirty-four wounded. The French privateer was the *Confiance* of twenty-six guns, "commanded by the celebrated Surcoufe."



*Thomas Graham* the father (writer 1769) was member of the Supreme Council at Fort William from 1791 to 1793, and again from February to October, 1801: when he became Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. Married Ann Paul on December 22, 1783. He was Lord Valentia's host during his stay in Calcutta in January, 1803. "Mr. Graham resides in Chouringhee, in a very excellent house" (Travels, Vol. I, p. 61).

(38) *William Kirkpatrick*.—Son of Col. James Kirkpatrick of the Madras Cavalry and brother of Lieutenant Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, ("Hushmat Jung") Resident at Hyderabad (died at Calcutta October 13, 1805: monument in St. John's Church). Came out as a cavalry cadet in 1773 at the age of nineteen. Persian Interpreter to Major General Giles Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief in Bengal 1777-1785: Resident at Gwalior: Persian Interpreter with Lord Cornwallis 1791-92. Mediated between the Nepaulese and the Chinese, 1793: and published in 1811, "An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul." No Englishman, he says in his preface "had hitherto passed beyond the range of lofty mountains which separates the secluded valley of Nepaul from the north eastern parts of Bengal." Resident at Hyderabad from 1795 to 1797, when he was succeeded by James Achilles. Met Lord Mornington at the Cape in 1708 and was appointed Military Secretary. Commissioner for the partition of Mysore, 1799, and Resident at Poona in 1801. Left India in 1801 and died on August 22, 1812. Founded the Bengal Military Orphan Society in 1782. Married on September 26, 1785, Maria Pawson, whose father, William Pawson (writer 1766) was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1788 and died on December 18, 1802. Their daughter Julia married Edward Strachey (B.C.S. 1793 to 1811) in 1808, and was the mother of Sir Edward Strachey, third baronet, and of Sir John and Sir Richard Strachey.

(39) *Philip Delisle*—the father, born in 1742: died in Calcutta on July 15, 1788 and buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

*Mary Delisle*—died in 1843. Married in 1800 Lieut. the Hon. John Ramsay of the King's Army, fourth son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie and Elizabeth Glen (5). Their fifth son was Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Ramsay, K.C.S.I., C.B., (1816-1893) the "King of Kumaon," which district he administered from 1856 to 1884.

(5) Cf. article by Mr. S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., in the *Indian Antiquary* for September 1924 (Part DCLXXII, Vol. LIII, pp. 197-200). Andrew Glen, "Mariner," married in Calcutta on December 31, 1733, Lucy Garland, widow, and was buried there on August 3, 1745. Their daughter Elizabeth married in 1767 the eighth Earl of Dalhousie and their son the ninth Earl, (1770-1838) was Commander in Chief in India from 1829-1832. Mrs. Lucy Glen married no less than six husbands in Calcutta, of whom Andrew Glen was the third. Her last husband was Peter Downes, the "Company's storekeeper of the new fortifications at Fort William" (September 2, 1760). He resigned the Company's service in February 1765, and left for Europe in the following July: but she refused to accompany him and died in Calcutta on November 23, 1765 (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V., p. 143, Vol. VI., p. 400). The tenth Earl and first and last Marquess of Dalhousie (1812-1860), Governor General from 1848 to 1856, was the great-grandson of Andrew and Lucy Glen. A Lieut. William Glen was killed on August 2, 1763 in Major Thomas Adams' victory at Gheriah.

(40) *William Hollingberry*.—Married Cecilia Henrietta Stewart in Calcutta on March 13, 1784. One of the proprietors of the Hircarrah Press, which published the *East Indian Chronologist* in 1801: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 9.

*John Hollingberry* was deputy paymaster to the third brigade at Berhampore in 1772.

(41) *Warren Hastings Larkins*—died in Calcutta on August 20, 1788. William Larkins, the father, married Mary Harris on February 7, 1776. He came out as a writer in 1772, left India in 1793 and died at Blackheath on April 24, 1800. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 153.

(42) *Thomas Call*—married Bethia Blackburn on February 5, 1784. Author of "A Plan of Fort William and Calcutta with the country round it laid down from a variety of surveys in 1786 by T. Call, Chief Engineer."

(43) *William Douglas*.—Writer, 1773: Collector of Dacca, 1789: on subsistence allowance as senior merchant, 1795: subsequently Judge at Dinapore and Rajshahye.

(44) *Archibald Montgomerie*—junior merchant, married on May 10, 1781, Maria Chantry: who is mentioned in some verses in Hicky's *Gazette* as one of the subjects of a toast to "The Five Girls who grace India's soil." The other four were Miss Emma Wrangham (who married John Bristow), Miss Nancy Sadlier (Mrs. Bruere), Miss Eliza Crisp (Lady Shee) and an unidentified Miss H—d. When Mrs. Elizabeth Fay met Maria Chantry in Calcutta in December, 1780, she was staying with Dr. Rowland Jackson, "physician to the Company" (who died in Calcutta on March 29, 1784, at the age of 63). "The doctor's Lady" is described by Mrs. Fay as "a native of Jamaica."

(45) The *Berrington* (755 tons, Capt. John Johnston) sailed from the Downs for "the Coast and Bay" on February 2, 1784. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 19, 1784, announces that "John Lambe, a midshipman, belonging to the *Berrington*, eloped from the said ship at Kedgerree about the 20th of July and soon after was seen at Calcutta." She left the Hooghly on February 8, 1785, with Warren Hastings on board, and arrived in the Downs on June 18, 1785. Hastings' fellow-passengers were David Anderson, as to whom see note (24), Sweny Toone, the commandant of his body-guard (afterwards a Director from 1800 to 1830) Jonathan Scott (brother of Major John Scott Waring) and John Shore.

The *Hillsborough* (755 tons, Capt. William Hardcastle) reached her home moorings on August 17, 1785.

*Thomas Blanshard*—was appointed junior chaplain in 1784 and succeeded William Johnson as Senior Chaplain in 1788. He sailed for Europe in a Dutch ship in 1796 and was lost on the voyage: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 172—174.

(46) *Edward Eyre Burgess*.—Judge of the Dewanny Adawlut at Moorshedabad 1788. Resigned the office of Judge and Magistrate of Nuddea in 1798, on account of ill-health. Died in Calcutta on May 23, 1801, aged 50.

(47) *John Andrews*—died February 24, 1792: married on June 22, 1782. *Constantia Hamilton* (widow of John Hamilton, pilot, whom she married on January 20, 1770).

Cf. *Calcutta Gazette*: May 31, 1787: "Yesterday morning a duel was brought between Mr. G. an attorney-at-law and Mr. A. one of the Proprietors of the Library in which the former was killed on the spot. We understood that the quarrel originated about a gambling debt." (Seton-Karr: Vol. I, pp. 202). There is no mention of the duel in Hickey's *Memoirs*. The attorney was Benjamin Gibbon. He was 40 years old. In an advertisement published in 1780 Andrews complains of "gentlemen going away and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the library or having any books belonging thereto." On August 15, 1785, he sold his books (some 10,000 in number) to Alexander Macdonald and William Arnot, and bound himself not to set up any similar business in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa without their consent (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 26).

(48) Lt.-Col. *Edward Clarke*—died in Calcutta on Dec. 7, 1810, aged 51.

(49) *John Shore*.—Writer 1769: member of the Council of Revenue, 1775—80: accompanied Hastings to Europe in 1785. Member of the Supreme Council at Fort William, 1787—1789: opposed the Permanent Settlement, advocating the Zemindari system. Again returned to England in 1790 and was created a baronet 1792. Governor-General of India from October 28, 1793 to March 12, 1798: received an Irish peerage in 1798 under the title of Baron Teignmouth. Member of the Board of Control from 1807 to 1828. Died February 24, 1834. Married Charlotte Cornish on February 14, 1786.

(50) *Trevor John Chicheley Plowden*.—Writer, 1800: Collector of the 24 Pergunnahs, 1823. Salt Agent, 24-Pergunnahs and Jessore, 1835. Died July 6, 1836, on board the *Hibernia*: monument in St. John's Church. The father was a Director of the Company from 1803 to 1829: and died only six years before his son (February, 1830).

(50A) *John Murray*—married Anne Macleod at Moorshedabad on April 10, 1775.

(51) *Charles Hutchinson Purling*—was the nephew of John Purling, Director from 1763 to 1771 (Chairman, 1771) and again from 1777 to 1780. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 156 for other details. Married Elizabeth Hasleby at Bauleah on June 14, 1778, the ceremony being performed by Thomas Pattle (married Sarah Hasleby at Cossimbazar on June 10, 1770).

(52) *James Agg*. Architect of St. John's Church (foundation stone laid by Edward Wheler on April 8, 1784: consecrated on June 24, 1787). Agg, was a fellow passenger of William Hickey, the attorney, when he came out to Bengal in the *Seahorse* Indiaman in May, 1777. He is described by Hickey in his "Memoirs" (Vol. II, p. 104) as a "modest and ingenious man" who was proceeding to Calcutta in the employ of Colonel Henry Watson, the Chief Engineer and originator of docks at "Raderpore, about three miles and a half from Calcutta" (by which, no doubt, Kidderpore is intended). Hickey continues: "Mr. Agg was, some years after he arrived in Bengal, appointed an

Engineer Officer, in which corps he rose to the rank of Captain, when he quitted the service and returned to Europe with a handsome fortune. Soon after he reached England, the Court of Directors offered him the situation of Lieutenant-Governor of Saint Helena, which he declined accepting."

(53) *Charles Theophilus Metcalfe*—Writer 1801: first student of the College at Fort William: Resident at Delhi, 1811—19: Private Secretary to Marquess of Hastings, 1819—20: Resident at Hyderabad, 1820, where he dealt with the affairs of Palmer & Co.: succeeded his brother Sir Theophilus John as third Baronet in 1822: Member of the Supreme Council, 1827—1834: acting Governor-General, 1835—36: "Liberator of the Indian Press"; Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces, 1836—38: Governor of Jamaica, 1839—42: Governor General of Canada, 1843—1845. Created Baron Metcalfe, 1845: died September 5, 1846. "A statesman tried in many high posts and difficult conjunctures and found equal to all" (Macaulay). His bust by E. H. Baily, R.A., and a portrait by Charles Pote, (6) are in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

The fourth baronet was his younger brother, Thomas Theophilus (born 1795: writer 1813) who was appointed Agent to the Governor General at Delhi in 1835, and died at that place on November 4, 1853. His daughter married Sir Edward Clive Bayley (writer 1841) who was Home Member of the Governor General's Council from 1873 to 1878: and two of his sons served in Bengal: Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, C.B., fifth Baronet (B.C.S. 1848—1866) and Charles Thomas Metcalfe, C.S.I. (B.C.S. 1857—1889).

(54) *Francis William Ulrick Gladwin*: of the 13th B. N. I., died at Dacca on August 27, 1822, at the age of 36. His tomb is in the English cemetery at that place. See note (22) for an account of his father.

*John Ulrick Collins*—Capt. H. E. I. C. Service, (who may have been the child's godfather) married Charlotte Wrangham on November 24, 1790. John Bristow was one of the witnesses: see Vol. XXVI. p. 161.

(55) *James Morgan*.—Was in command at Cawnpore when Hastings made his journey to Benares in 1781. Brother of Frederick Morgan, Commandant at Fort William and a firm friend of Hastings (S. C. Grier: *Hastings' Letters to his Wife*, p. 83).

(55A) *James Stormont*:—"Surgeon at Moorshedabad" married Janet Guthrie on April 8, 1777. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 149, where Colonel D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., identifies him with the "John Stormont" of this and other entries: cf. also Vol. XXVI, p. 164.

(56) *Henry George Augustus Howe*.—Died in Calcutta, October 2, 1811, aged 70. Was Deputy Commissary of Ordnance at Cuttack, 1804.

(57) *Francis Light*.—Married the daughter of the Malayan King of Quedah, receiving with her as dowry the Island of Penang or Pulo Penang, the name of which was at Light's suggestion altered to Prince of Wales Island.

(6) See, however, page 237 *post*, for a quotation from a contemporary magazine (February, 1836) in which G. H. Swaine is named as the painter.

His son Col. William Light was Surveyor General of South Australia and founder of the city of Adelaide.

(58) *John Baxter*: of the firm of Baxter and Joys, keeper of a "Europe Shop." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 205 and *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 180). For *John Joys*, his partner see note (15).

(59) *Eliza Dashwood*.—See notes (4) and (69). Named after her aunt Elizabeth Dashwood, who married the fourth Duke of Manchester.

(60) *Hume Jackson*.—"taylor" lived in Radha Bazar (Calcutta Directory of 1804).

(61) *George Elliot*.—"Agent for the Nabob's Donation Money," 1784: married on July 10, 1792, Rachael Dunkin, daughter of William Dunkin, advocate, who had been appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in 1791 and died in Calcutta in 1797, when he was succeeded by Sir Henry Russell. There is a reference to Dunkin and "his numerous family" in the *Memoirs of William Hickey* (Vol. III, p. 262).

(62) *Temperance Green*.—sister of Patrick and Suetonius Grant Heatly of the Company's service. They were the children of Andrew Heatly of Newport, R.I., and Mary, daughter of Suetonius Grant and Temperance Talmage. The Heatly were all loyalists in the American War of Independence and left the country: but Temperance Heatly, whose husband William Green was a Captain in the Royal Navy, settled after leaving India at Utica, N.Y., where they have many descendants. Zoffany painted her with her brother Suetonius (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 164), who was Senior Judge of the Court of Circuit at Dacca, and died at Chittagong on June 3, 1794, at the age of 43.

(63) *George Harrison*.—was appointed assistant surgeon on October 17, 1778 and died on December 22, 1784. Married Mary Helass on October 16, 1777.

(64) *Edward Baber*.—arrived at Calcutta as a writer, 1763: Chief at Midnapore 1770—1772: President of the Provincial Council of Moorshedabad 1779—1780 (succeeded by William Hosea, who was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, August 4, 1782). One of Warren Hastings' steadfast friends.

(65) *Hugh Gayer Honeycomb*.—Attorney. Died in Calcutta, April 22, 1791, aged 37. Purchased "the paddock" for Rs. 7,500 at the sale of Hastings' Alipore property in February, 1785. Junior Grand Warden of the Provincial Lodge of Bengal in 1789 (See Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III p. 347). His wife Elizabeth died in Calcutta, September 6, 1801, aged 35.

(66) *Joseph Sherburne*.—Writer 1772: Resigned post of Assistant Collector of Rajmahal and Bhagalpur in May 1773, when Augustus Cleveland succeeded him. Scavenger of Calcutta, 1785 (7): Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1782. Collector of Boglepore 1801. Died at Monghyr July 18, 1805. William

(7) The scavage was a tax levied upon goods offered for sale, which were subject to duty; and the scavenger was the officer charged with the inspection of the goods and the collection of the tax (Hobson-Jobson): cf. in the List of Persons in the Service of the Hon'ble East India Company at Fort Saint George for 1761: "Samuel Ardley, 7th of Council,

Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III p. 391) relates that Sherburne, upon his first arrival in Bengal, borrowed from a sircar the sum of sa. Rs. 900, "for which he executed a bond and warrant of attorney to contest judgment, payable in six months." He continued to renew the security every six months, and was eventually sued in the Supreme Court for a debt of 58,000 odd hundred rupees! Harriet Sherburne, single woman, married "John Coxon, Esqr., Commander of the *Grosvenor*, East Indiaman" on August 1, 1778, and perished with her husband in the wreck, August 4, 1782. A Mr. Sherbourne, the son of a Brahmin mother, kept a school in the Chitpore Road, in the early years of the nineteenth century. Here Prosonno Kumar Tagore, among others, was educated (see Edwards' *Henry Derozio*).

A certain *Thomas Eldred Sherburne*, whom we should regret to identify with the subject of this entry, was charged in 1804 with forgery before the Supreme Court at Fort William, and upon conviction, was sentenced to pay a fine of one rupee, to stand in the pillory for one day, and to be imprisoned for two years.

(67) The old Opium Factory at Gulzarbagh, now used as a Government Press is said (O'Malley, *Patna Gazetteer*, p. 213) to occupy the site and to contain some of the buildings of the Dutch factory at Patna. "A large two storied building, used as a godown, is pointed out as having been erected by the Dutch and part of the revetment or river wall in the city is known as the *Landaz Pushta*." Tavenier, who visited Patna with Bernier in 1666, wrote: "The Holland Company have a house there by reason of their trade in saltpetre, which they refine at a great town called Choupar" (Chapra). Mention is also made in the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin* of "the great beauty and extent" of the Hollanders' factory at Azimabad (the name given to Patna in 1704 in honour of Prince Azim-us-Shan, who was then Governor). The factory was seized in 1781 by order of Warren Hastings, restored in 1784, and finally ceded to the English in 1824.

(68) *Herbert Harris*—writer 1765: Sheriff of Calcutta, 1781. Mint Master 1785. Salt Agent at Chittagong and Bullooh 1794. Died in Calcutta on January 22, 1810, aged 68.

(69) *Charlotte Auriol*—married on January 20, 1804, at Bulwa Ghaut, near Benares, to John Lane of Gauzipore.

*John Lewis Auriol*—writer 1775: Sub-Secretary, 1784: Commercial Resident at Benares, 1793: returned to England in 1803. He served on the jury which tried James Augustus Hicky on January 21—28, 1781, for a libel in the *Bengal Gazette* on J. Z. Kiernander. The verdict was not guilty on the first count and guilty on the second. Hicky was sentenced on October 29 to four months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 sicca rupees.

His brother James Peter Auriol was also in the Company's service, and figures in the fourteenth charge of the impeachment against Hastings: "That

Masulipatam, Land-Customer, Military Store-keeper, Rentall General and Scavenger." The modern signification is due to the fact that later on the scavenger was entrusted with municipal functions.

in pursuance of the same prodigal and corrupt system of government he appointed James Peter Auriol, Esquire, to be agent for the purchase of supplies for the relief of the presidency of Madras, and all the other presidencies of India, with a commission of 30 per cent." He took with him to the Cape in 1784 a letter for the Dutch Governor (Joakim Van Plettenberg) and a ring inscribed "Ab hoste doceri" in recognition of the efforts made by the Dutch authorities to rescue the survivors of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*. Van Plettenberg had sent news of the disaster to the Council at Fort William in a letter dated July 1, 1783.

Of the Auriol sisters, Sophia married John Prinsep; see note (14): and Charlotte Louisa married Thomas Dashwood: see note (4).

Zoffany painted a large group of the Auriol family which is in the possession of Mrs. Dashwood of Wilton House, Shenley (Williamson, p. 189). In the centre are Charlotte (Mrs. Thomas Dashwood) and Sophia (Mrs. John Prinsep) in gold satin seated at a round table drinking tea. Behind are two Indian servants who appear to be pouring out the tea and handing it. Near by is Thomas Dashwood seated at a round table and playing chess. On the opposite side of the table is James Auriol standing and receiving a letter from an Indian servant. At the other side of the picture are John Prinsep (seated) and Charles Auriol in uniform and John Auriol (standing).

(70) *William Harding*.—married Harriet Sweedland on November 7, 1784.

(71) *Charles Child*.—Originally a school master in Calcutta. Died in Calcutta, July 9, 1817. From the inscription on his monument in South Park Street cemetery it appears that he died in his 100th year. His wife Elizabeth (who died on July 31, 1822, aged 63) was forty one years his junior. The name of Charles Child occurs in the following interesting note, which was written on a fly-leaf of Thomas Boileau's copy of Holwell's "India Tracts:"

August 13th, 1799.—This forenoon between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock visited by appointment in company with Mr. Charles Child at her House in Calcutta situate in an angle at the Head of the Portuguese Church Street, and east of the Church Mrs. Carey the last survivor of the unfortunate persons who were imprisoned in the Black Hole at Calcutta on the capture of that place in 1756, by Surajud Dowlah. This Lady now Fifty Eight (58) years of age as she herself told me is of a size rather above the common stature and very well proportion'd, of a fair Mesticia colour with correct regular features which give evident marks of Beauty which must once have attracted admiration. She confirmed all which Mr. Holwell has said on the subject of the black-hole in the foregoing letter, and added that besides her Husband, her Mother Mrs. Eleanor Weston (her name by second marriage) and her sister aged about ten years had also perished therein, and that other Women the wives of Soldiers and Children had shared a like fate there.

THOS. BOILEAU.

Mrs. Cary died 28th March, 1801.

August 13<sup>th</sup> 1799. This forenoon between the hours of  
10 & 11 O'clock visited by appointment in company with Mr  
Charles Child, at Mr. Finck's in Calcutta situated in 1799 near  
at the Head of the Portuguese Church Street, House of the  
Mr. Carey, the last survivor of those unfortunate persons  
who were imprisoned in the Black-Hole at Calcutta  
on the Capture of that place in 1756, by Surajud Daula.  
This Lady now Fifty<sup>80</sup> years of age as she herself  
told me, is of a size rather above the common stature,  
and very well proportioned; of a fair Mesticea colour,  
with correct angular features which give evidently marks  
of Beauty which must once have attracted admiration.  
She confirmed all which Mr Holwell has said on the  
subject of the black-hole in the foregoing letter, and added  
besides her Husband, her Mother Mrs Eleanor Weston  
name by second Marriage, and her sister aged about Six  
years have also perished therein, and that other Women the  
Wives of Soldiers and Children had shared a like fate this  
Mr. Boileau.

Mrs Carey died 20<sup>th</sup> March 1801.





For Thomas Boileau: see note (3). The "foregoing letter" is the narrative of the tragedy written by Holwell on his voyage home in the form of a 32 page letter to "William Davis Esqre. from on board the *Syren* sloop, this 28th day of February, 1757." It is printed as an appendix to the "India Tracts," and was translated into German in 1799. A snuff-box may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall which bears a miniature portrait of Mrs. Carey.

(72) *Fairfax Moresby*—married Mary Rotton on October 15, 1784. Her sister Arabella was married on December 31 of the same year to Edward Otto Ives, junior merchant in the Company's service (judge of the Dewanny Adawlat at Moorshedabad, 1782, Resident at Lucknow, 1789—1792). John Rotton was a captain in the Company's service. Moresby lived in Lall Bazar (see *Calcutta Gazette* of September 9, 1784) and died in Devonshire in 1820 at the age of 67.

(73) *Robert Hollier*.—Succeeded John Baptist Levesque as clerk of St. John's Church and Schoolmaster of the Charity School in 1785, when he arrived from England. Died September 28, 1797.

(74) *Hastings Palmer*—died at Hyderabad on November 7, 1860, in his 77th year and is buried in the Residency cemetery. He was a member of the great banking firm of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad which was founded by his elder brother William in 1814, and in which George Rumbold (1794—1820) and Sir William Rumbold, third baronet (1787—1833), the grandsons of Sir Thomas Rumbold, were also partners. "The power acquired by the firm over the Nizam and the State became so dangerous," in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe (Resident from 1820 to 1825), that Lord Hastings was compelled to intervene: and the claim of the Nizam to a yearly tribute in respect of the Northern Circars was cancelled by the payment of a large sum which was appropriated to the liquidation of the loans made by Palmer & Co. Lord Hastings was censured for his action by the Court of Proprietors on his return to England in 1823: and the firm suspended payment in the year following the settlement. Hastings Palmer who is described upon his tombstone as a "kind, gentle, benevolent, and humane" man, survived the débâcle for forty years.

The connexion between Warren Hastings and Major, afterwards Lieut. General *William Palmer*, the father (1750—1814) was very close. Palmer entered the Bengal Army from the King's service in 1766, and acted as Military Secretary to Hastings for several years until he became Resident at Lucknow in 1782. He was Resident at Scindia's Court from 1794 to 1798, and at Poona from 1798 to 1801. Subsequently he commanded at Monghyr and Berhampore, and died at the latter place on May 20, 1814: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI p. 167.

(75) *John Burgh*—acted as agent at Berhampore for William Wordie who was contractor for cantonment repairs.

(76) *The King George*—(755 tons, Captain Jonathan Court) arrived in the Downs on June 20, 1786: and the *Dublin* (786 tons, Captain William Smith) on September 28, 1786.

## “ Lucknow Kavanagh.”

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REFERENCE was made in a recent issue of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXVI, p. 112) to an album of interesting Mutiny photographs which formerly belonged to the late Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, V.C., of Lucknow fame, and which is now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. E. E. Francis, of Calcutta. Among them is a photograph which represents Sir James Outram and other officers “making up” Kavanagh for his journey from the Residency to Sir Colin Campbell’s headquarters, outside Lucknow. Mrs. Francis has presented to the Victoria Memorial an enlargement of the photograph, and she has also been good enough to permit us to publish the reproduction which appears upon the opposite page.

The photograph is clearly taken from a picture, but the author and the present whereabouts of that picture have not been ascertained. It is hoped that the attention which we are now able to draw to it may result in a clue.

The persons represented in the photograph, reading from left to right, are Lieutenant Clifford H. Meham, of the Madras Artillery and attached to the 4th Oudh Irregular Infantry (author of a series of “Sketches of the Siege of Lucknow”) Captain Sitwell, aide-de-camp to Sir James Outram, Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, Captain G. N. Hardinge, officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, Sir James Outram, Colonel Robert Napier of the Bengal Engineers (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) Military Secretary to Sir James Outram, Lala Kunoujee Lall, the companion of Kavanagh in his adventure, and Major James Fraser Tytler, D.A.Q.M.G., Oudh Field Force.

Thomas Henry Kavanagh, says Sir George Forrest in his “Selections from State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India” (Vol. II, introd., p. 279), was the son of a British soldier, “and his great physical strength and iron nerve well adapted him for his father’s noble profession: but the Fates designed that at an early age he should become a clerk in a Government office.” He was, in fact, appointed Superintendent of the office of the Chief Commissioner upon the annexation of Oudh in February, 1856, and hence it came about that he was besieged in the Lucknow Residency, with his wife and family. The manner in which he there distinguished himself is thus described upon the tablet erected to his memory in the Church at Lucknow:

On the night of November 9, 1875, with the devotion of an ancient Roman hero, taking his life in his hand, he went forth from the beleaguered Residency, and passing through a city thronged with merciless enemies, triumphantly guided Sir Colin Campbell on his way to the relief of the garrison.





The Victoria Cross was the reward of his achievement: and the Government of India bestowed upon him a donation of Rs. 20,000, equal to several years pay at the rate he was then drawing, and promoted him also to be an Assistant Commissioner in Oudh on a commencing salary of Rs. 700 a month. He rose to be Deputy Commissioner and died about 1883.

During the siege he showed his courage in several sorties to which he was attached in his capacity as assistant field engineer. He accompanied Colonel Napier when he went out to bring in the wounded and proved of great service to him in guiding him through the palaces which lined the river. Seeing the plans which were being made by Sir James Outram to assist Sir Colin Campbell in his attempt to reach the Residency, he came to the conclusion that a living guide would be better.

The following account of his exploit, and of the incident described in the picture, is given by Kavanagh in his book "How I won the Victoria Cross" (London, 1860):

"On the morning of the 9th of November 1857, I was apprised of the arrival of a spy who effected an entry during the night, with a despatch conveying intelligence of a force coming from Cawnpore. I had some days previously witnessed the drawing of plans by my young friend, Mr. James May, which were prepared by direction of Sir James Outram, to assist the Commander-in-Chief in his advance upon the Residency. It then occurred to me that some one of intelligence, with the requisite local knowledge, ought to attempt to reach His Excellency's force beyond, or at the Alum Bagh, because the plans would be of little use without some one to explain them. I imparted to the spy, Kunoujee Lal (who, before the outbreak, had been a Nazir, or Bailiff, in one of our Courts of Oudh) my desire to venture in disguise to the Alum Bagh, where he was to return in the night with a despatch for Sir Colin Campbell. . . . At first he positively declined to incur the additional risk to which the Company of a second person, and he a European, was sure to expose him. A couple of hours afterwards I persuaded Kunoujee Lal to run that danger, by holding out to him the prospect of an unusually good reward, and explaining to him the general public service he would thereby render to the British Garrison. He then strongly urged that we should leave the defences by different roads and meet outside the city: but he gave it up on learning that I knew too little of the intricacies of the city to venture alone, and on hearing a specimen of my Hindoostanee. . . .

"By two o'clock in the afternoon I resolved to volunteer my services through Colonel Robert Napier who at once pronounced the attempt impracticable. . . . He was, however, so much pleased that he went to the Chief Commissioner to mention it, followed by me. Sir James Outram. . . was not less astonished. . . and reasoned with me upon the possibility of success. . . I was so earnest in my entreaties to be allowed to go that he yielded, provided he was satisfied with the disguise, and that I was of the same mind when the hour for departure arrived. . . . I endeavoured, without exciting suspicion,

to discover whether a permanent dye was procurable in the entrenchment, and luckily for my little beauty, there was none. I obtained a complex Oriental suit by borrowing each article from separate natives: and tying them in a bundle took them home. I remained quite composed until six o'clock in the evening when, as was customary with me, I kissed the family and left pretending that I was for duty at the mines, and that I might be detained till late in the morning. I carried my bundle to a small room in the slaughter-yard, and was there dressed by that good, steady young man, Mr. F. Quieros, whom I enjoined to keep it a secret for the present. I disguised myself as a *budmash* or swashbuckler with sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk koortah (or jacket) over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white waistband or *kumurbund*. My face down to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists were coloured with lamp black, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere a little. I was amused at my own ugliness, as I carefully surveyed each feature in the glass to see that the colouring was well spread. I did not think that the shade of black was quite natural, and I felt somewhat uneasy about it, till we talked over the chances of detection, and came to the conclusion that the darkness of the night was favourable to me. Kunoujee Lal now joined us, and seemed to chuckle at the ridiculous appearance of the metamorphosed sahib as we walked over together to the quarters of Sir James Outram.

"Natives are not permitted to go into the house of a European with shoes on, nor to take a seat uninvited. In order to draw particular attention to myself, I did both, and the eyes of the officers, who sat at the General's table, were at once turned angrily and enquiringly upon the queer man who did such impudent things. Questions and answers were exchanged without detecting the disguise, although my plain features were known to every one of the outraged Officers: who called in the General, and he took some time to recognize me. I regarded this first step in the adventure as presaging success, and was glad to lay hold on any little thing to keep my confidence. I was daubed once more by the General himself, and, considering where I was going to, there was extraordinary hilarity in the whole proceeding, which was most beneficial to my nerves. My turban was readjusted: my habiliments subjected to a close inspection, and my waistband adorned by a loaded double-barrelled pistol (belonging to the gallant and amiable Captain Sitwell) which was intended for myself should there be no possibility of escaping death at the hands of the mutineers, who would have done it in their own particular way.

"At half past eight o'clock our gaiety ceased, for that was the time appointed to leave. The kind hearted and chivalrous Sir James, and my good friend Colonel Napier, pressed my hand, with a few encouraging words: the rest, with many earnest prayers for my success, shook hands: and I started with Kunoujee Lal, in the company of the brave Captain Hardinge who came down to the picquet, on the river Goompty, to pass me out."

Of Kunoujee Lal, Kavanagh writes on a later page: "I was greatly indebted to my intelligent guide, who let me speak as seldom as possible, and throughout evinced amazing wit and courage. I should not have succeeded without this faithful man."

On reaching the river-bank, Kavanagh "descended naked to the stream, with the clothes on my head rolled into a bundle. The first plunge into the lines of the enemy, and the cold water chilled my courage immensely, and if the guide had been within my reach, I should, perhaps, have pulled him back and given up the enterprise."

Swimming the Goomti, Kavanagh and his companion proceeded along the left bank until they reached the stone bridge (about 800 or 900 yards from the iron bridge) where they were stopped. They recrossed the Goomti and passed through into the Chauk or main street of the city. "I jostled against several armed men in the street without being spoken to, and only met one guard of seven sepoy who were amusing themselves with women of pleasure." Making their way into the country beyond they took the wrong road, and found themselves in the Dilkoosha Park, which was occupied by the enemy. A cultivator whom they accosted ran off screaming, and they were obliged to bear a retreat to the canal. They obtained directions from a woman in a hut and after meeting an advanced picquet of sepoy who told them the way, proceeded in the direction of the Commander-in-Chief's camp which was on the Cawnpore road near Bunnee, about eight miles from Lucknow. They next stumbled into a jheel which detained them for two hours. After emerging they entered a village and passing two more of the enemy's picquets, came upon the British encampment about four o'clock in the morning. A strange looking creature presented himself before the tent of the Commander-in-Chief. "As I approached the door, an elderly gentleman with a stern face came up and going up to him, I asked for Sir Colin Campbell. 'I am Sir Colin Campbell,' was the sharp reply, 'and who are you?'"

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## Our Library Table.

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*Murray's Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon: with eighty-five maps and plans: Eleventh Edition: by Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (London John Murray, 1924. Twenty One Shillings Net).*

**F**EW publishers of traveller's guides have been wiser in their choice of editors than Mr. John Murray. The "Handbook for India" was originally published in three volumes for the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. The first of these volumes appeared in 1859: but the Bengal volume was not issued until 1882. They were prepared by Captain Edward Backhouse Eastwick, C.B., M.P. for Penryn and Falmouth from 1868 to 1874, whose brother, Captain William John Eastwick was a Director of the East India Company from 1846 to 1858, and a Member of the Council of India from 1858 to 1868. In 1892 the Handbook was published in a single volume under the supervision of Sir George Forrest, C.I.E.: and the second edition followed in 1894. The third edition came out in 1898, the revision being undertaken by Mr. Norwood Young. Dr. John Burgess, C.I.E., was responsible for the fourth edition in 1901: and Mr. H. C. Fanshawe, C.S.I., for the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth editions (1904, 1907, 1908, and 1911). The ninth and tenth editions (1913, 1919) were the work of Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.: and now the eleventh edition makes its appearance under the able and competent oversight of Sir John Cumming.

The accuracy of the information conveyed is remarkable. We have subjected the pages to a careful scrutiny, with the deliberate intention of discovering errors and omissions, and are obliged to acknowledge complete defeat. Here and there, it is true that trifling slips may be found. The Christian names of "Lucknow Kavanagh" were Thomas Henry, and not James, as stated on page 398: and on page 119 the proof reader has omitted to substitute "Governor" for "Chief Commissioner" as the present designation of the administrative head of the Central Provinces. Such oversights are both unimportant and inevitable in a closely-printed volume of 728 pages: and the merit of the compilation remains unimpaired. The account of Calcutta is thoroughly up to date, and has evidently been prepared with the utmost care. But the identification of the "mystery picture" in the Town Hall with General Hewett (as to which see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 59-70) must have been made after the sheets went to press, as the name of Colonel Colin Mackenzie is given in the list of portraits on page 89. The description of the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection is a new and agreeable feature. Of the eighty-five maps and plans it is impossible to speak too highly. We miss however a plan of Shillong and hope that this may be supplied in a future edition. The charm of a book such as this is that it is not merely a

*vade mecum* for the cold weather tourist. The lover of history can be recommended with confidence to apply himself to a study of its contents.

*Poems of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio: with an introduction by F. B. Bradley-Birt (Oxford University Press, Five Shillings).*

Mr. Bradley-Birt does not intend, as we gather, that the selection which he has made from the poems of Derozio shall supersede the standard biography by Thomas Edwards which was published in Calcutta in 1884. But his volume is none the less welcome, and in his introduction he has collected all the available information regarding the brief career of one whom he describes as "the only poet of real distinction whom the Anglo-Indian community has produced in all its three centuries of existence." Derozio died of cholera on December 26, 1831, in his twenty-third year: and the poems which he left behind him cannot, therefore, be fairly judged as the products of his maturity. Exaggerated praise is accordingly as unjust to his memory as studied depreciation. When all allowances have been made, for superficiality, want of originality, triteness and unreality, the fact remains that the poems reveal a genuine genius. It is strange at this distance of time to read once more of the dismissal of Derozio from his post at the Hindu College upon the ground that he was infecting his pupils with the poison of modern Western education. Under his inspiration, wrote Baboo Hara Mohan Chatterjee some years later, the term "College boy" became a synonym for a boy who was incapable of falsehood. Nevertheless, the rigidly orthodox took fright. They heard that the students at their gatherings warmly advocated the education of Hindu girls and vigorously denounced Sutte: and they withdrew their sons. The Managers condemned Derozio unheard, and he plunged into journalism during the two months which remained of his life. Like the gifted Bengali sisters Aru and Toru Dutt, he died before he could justify his early promise.

*Descriptive Catalogue of the Paintings, Statues, etc., in the India Office: by William Foster, C.I.E. Fifth Edition (London: H. M. Stationery Office: Two Shillings and Six Pence).*

This Catalogue was originally compiled in 1893, at the suggestion of Sir George Birdwood, and the number of items then enumerated was 204. When the fourth edition was issued in 1914, the total had risen to 477, and it now reaches nearly 600. No injustice is done to the many visitors to the India Office when it is affirmed that few, if any, of them are aware of the artistic treasures which it contains, or of the interesting additions which are being made to it from time to time. The fault is not wholly theirs, for most of the

pictures and engravings hang in Committee-rooms and in the rooms of the various officials: but the Council-room on the first floor is not always closed to the public. Here may be seen Romney's portrait of Warren Hastings, bequeathed to the Company in 1800 by "the faithful Larkins," a replica of the portrait of Wellesley by Home which may be seen in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir Joshua's portrait of Stringer Lawrence, a portrait of Cornwallis (also bequeathed by Larkins) which is attributed to Devis, and a portrait of Eyre Coote which has recently been identified as the work of J. T. Seton and is dated 1783, the year of Coote's death at Fort Saint George. In the room of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary is Edward Penny's picture of "Lord Clive receiving from the Nawab of Bengal the grant of the sum of money which was applied to establish the fund for disabled officers and soldiers known as Lord Clive's Fund." This was painted in 1773, and cost the Court of Directors two hundred guineas. In the Finance Committee Room is Benjamin West's picture of "Shah Alam conveying the grant of the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to Lord Clive, in August 1773." This was presented to the Company in 1820 by Clive's son the first Earl of Powis: and a smaller canvas by the same artist with somewhat different grouping, may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall. In the Military Committee Room are the six pictures of Fort William, Fort Saint George, Bombay, Tellicherry, St. Helena, and the Cape of Good Hope, which were painted by George Lambert and Samuel Scott and purchased by the Directors in 1732 at the cost of fifteen guineas per picture "as per agreement." The objects of historical interest at the India Office are not, however, confined to pictures. Mention has already been made in our article upon Mr. Foster's book on "The East India House" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 189) of the handsome marble mantel piece and the chairs and tables which once adorned the Court Room in the old building in Leadenhall Street. Mr. Foster's notes upon nearly every item are full of information: and the entire catalogue is a masterpiece of learning and research.

*Catalogue of (a) Bengali and Assamese Manuscripts and (b) Oriya Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office: by the late James Fuller Blumhardt, M.A., Teacher of Bengali in the University of Oxford. (Oxford University Press, Seven Shillings and Six Pence).*

The interest of this collection lies, not so much in the importance of the manuscripts themselves, as in the historical associations which attach to their former owners. The Bengali and Assamese manuscripts belonged to H. T. Colebrooke (presented in 1819-1828), Richard Johnson, the nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds and banker of Warren Hastings (purchased in 1807) John Leyden (purchased in 1824) Sir Charles Wilkins (presented in 1837) and H. H. Wilson. The chief of these are three books of Kashiram Das's metrical ver-

sion of the Mahabharata, (dated Calcutta 1773) a copy of Mukundaram Chakravarti's Chandi and three copies of the Vidya Sundaram of Bharat Chandra Ray. Two of the Oriya manuscripts are known to have been purchased from the representatives of John Leyden in 1824, and it is probable that the others came from the same source. All are modern, and mostly of the nineteenth century. Ninety years ago, serious complaint was being made of the manner in which the catalogue of manuscripts at the India House was being kept. According to a writer in Alexander's East India and Colonial Magazine for July 1835, the list of the Leyden manuscripts was "very loosely written" and "rough, dirty and foul," the entries being made in the vaguest manner. That reproach is now being removed.

*Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission: held at Madras in January 1924 (Government of India Press, Calcutta: Rupees Three and Annas Eight only).*

Mr. Abdul Ali, to whose energy much of the success of the last two meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission has been due, contributed an account of the proceedings at the Madras Session to Vol. XXVII of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 84—87): and several of the papers have been reproduced, by permission, in these pages. The present volume contains a number of other papers of equal interest: although their subjects are not concerned with Bengal. Among these we may note "the private letter books of Joseph Collet, Governor of Fort Saint George from 1717 to 1720," and two valuable contributions on Maratha records by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and Mr. R. K. Ranadive, the representative of the Baroda State on the Commission. Mention should also be made of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's paper on Sivaji in the Carnatic, compiled from unpublished French records, and Mr. S. V. Chari's account of Famine Relief in Madras 150 years ago. The majority of the papers are, in fact, written by Indian scholars: and nothing could illustrate in a more gratifying manner the value of the work which is being done by the Commission in stimulating interest in the abundant material which exists in the many collections of records in India.

*Bibliography of Bengal Records: 1756—1858. (Compiled by the Bengal Record Room, 1924).*

The Government of Bengal has been fortunate in having had two such Deputy Secretaries in charge of their Record-room as Mr. Alexander Cassells and Mr. C. W. Gurner. Both are scholars and deeply interested in historical research and under their guidance the Bengal Record-room has become a

model to other Presidencies and Provinces. In the present publication a complete list is given of all the pre-Mutiny records of the Government of Bengal which have been printed up to date, and made available to the public. It does not profess to be exhaustive : and its use must be supplemented by reference to the list of publications issued under the superintendence of the keeper of the Government of India's Records. But its value to students is undeniable. We trust that it will be followed by a list of official publications, such as Mr. J. C. Price's Notes on the History of Midnapore, Sir Henry Cotton's Revenue History of Chittagong, Sir James Westland's book on Jessore, and Mr. E. G. Glasier's Selections from Rungpore Records. These abound in valuable material, but have become extremely scarce and difficult to obtain. In happier days, when financial stringency is less severe, it may be hoped that some of these will be reprinted : it is not always possible for the investigator at a distance to find an opportunity of consulting them at Writers' Buildings.

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*Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad. Volume XII: July 2 to September 8, 1772: and copy book of Letters issued by the Resident at the Durbar (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Rupees Twelve).*

This volume completes the transcript of the proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, which was formed in 1770, and dissolved in September, 1772. Provincial Councils of Revenue were established at the end of 1773 and the beginning of 1774 : and during the interval the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad was placed in charge of the collections of the districts and held an intermediate position between the Collectors and the Revenue Board which consisted of the President and Council at Fort William. Samuel Middleton the elder (who died at Pirpainti near Bhagalpur in 1775) was Chief of the Controlling Council : and the following names of Collectors occur : William Barton (Tipperah) William Rooke (Jessore) Thomas Pattle (Bauleah, with headquarters at Lushkerpore) George Harwood (Rajmehal) William Marriott (Dinagapore) William Wynne (Mahomed Shahy) James Irwin (Choonacolly) Thomas Henschman (Jehanghirpur) William Byam Martin (Rokunpore) George Gustavus Ducarel (Purneah) Charles Purling (Rungpore) William Lambert (Dacca) Jacob Rider (Nuddea) John Sumner (Beerbhoom) C. W. Boughton Rous (Rajshahi, with headquarters at Nattore) and William Lushington (Hooghly). George Vansittart was Chief at Patna, and Nicholas Grueber Chief at Cossimbazar; and Charles Croftes was Accomptant at the Presidency. The compilation will be found of the utmost assistance to students of early revenue history in Bengal.

*Select Index to the General Letters from the Court of Directors in the Judicial Department, 1795—1854: preserved in the Bengal Secretariat Record Room. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Rupees Two and Annas Eight).*

This small volume of fifty-eight pages represents an experiment in an entirely new direction, and the range of subjects covered by the index is worthy of note. All the "Secret Letters" from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, which relates to political and military matters, have been transferred to the records of the Government of India: but the remainder of the correspondence which was classed as "Public" has been retained by the Government of Bengal. From 1785 until the establishment of a separate Judicial Department on May 1, 1793, judicial matters were dealt with by the Revenue Department. The present compilation is confined to a series of 23 volumes of a later period from 1795 to 1854: and for the present the letters indexed are those received from the Court. It is hoped ultimately to publish a consolidated index of the whole of the General Letters which will include the letters both to and from the Court. The jurisdiction of the Presidency of Fort William was of the widest character and embraced not only Bengal, Behar and Orissa, but gradually also the whole of Upper India as far as Kumaon and Dehra Dun, and also Lower Burma (1826) and "the incorporated Settlements to the Eastward" by which the Straits Settlements and Penang are intended. The index reveals so many features of interest that we hope a further instalment will be undertaken.

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*The Society of Mekhithar: by Mesroub J. Seth. (Published by the Author at 19 Lindsay Street, Calcutta. Rupee One).*

The Armenian Community fills so important a place in the commercial and social life of Calcutta that Mr. Seth's interesting brochure can fitly claim attention in these columns. It deals with the history of a body of Armenian Monks, named after their first Abbot Mekhithar, who have been established since the year 1715 on the island of San Lazzaro in the lagoon of Venice. The monastery, which was completed in 1740, contains a school and a printing press; and its learned inmates have not only translated the classics of Greece and Rome into classical Armenian, but have also published innumerable works on the religion history and antiquities of their country. A Mekhitharist monk, Father Sookeas Aghamalean, who was related to the well known family of Samuel Moorat of Madras, died in Calcutta on March 13, 1789, and is buried in the Catholic Cathedral of our Lady of the Rosary in Murghihatta.

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## The Editor's Note Book.

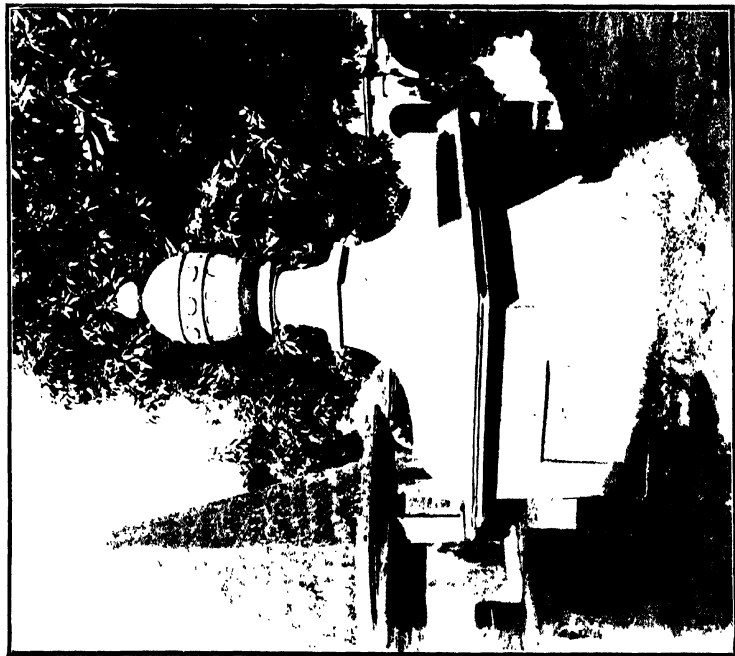
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WE are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. C. F. Hooper, to present a photograph of the tomb of Charlotte Barry whom William Hickey brought to Calcutta in 1782 and with whom as "Mrs. Hickey" he set up house "furnishing very handsomely at an expense of upwards of 12,000 rupees including plate." The photograph has been difficult to take on account of the situation of the tomb and the shadow which falls across it: and Mr. Hooper has been at considerable pains to secure a satisfactory negative. The inscription is as follows:

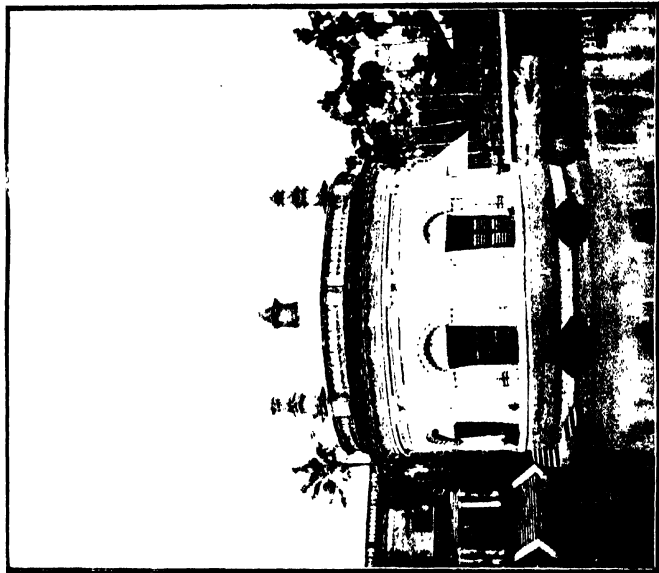
To the Memory of  
Mrs. Charlotte Hickey  
Wife of William Hickey Esquire  
who died the 25th December 1783  
aged 21 years 10 months and 10 days  
leaving a truly disconsolate husband  
bitterly and incessantly to deplore her loss.

Charlotte Barry had been the mistress of Hickey's friend, the eccentric Captain Henry Mordaunt—brother of him of Zoffany's "Cock Fight"—and it must be said to Hickey's credit that she declined his offer of lawful marriage, from fear that he might grow weary of her. The regularity of the relations between them seems, however, to have been recognized in Calcutta, for the entry of the burial in the Registers of St. John's Church, which was made by William Johnson, was as follows: "December 26, 1783: Mrs. Hickey, wife of Mr. Hickey attorney at law."

OUR other illustration represents the "Jol Toongi," which was until recently a picturesque feature of the scenery on the Russa Road, and which residents in Bhowanipore will remember almost opposite the present Russa Engineering works. It has been swept away by the activities of the Improvement Trust: but when it was in existence, it consisted (as the picture will show) of a circular structure somewhat resembling an ancient Greek temple with engraved Corinthian columns and stood in the centre of a tank fringed by tall cocoanut palms. A boarded causeway connected it with the "mainland": and it was built on strong masonry arches entirely submerged in water and had a stout boarded floor some 25 feet in diameter. Upon close examination several trap doors were to be seen in the floor which when raised showed flights of steps leading into the water. The old Oriya mali who acted as a guide for a small considera-



THE TOMB OF CHARLOTTE "HICKEY"  
IN SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY.  
(From a Photograph by C. F. Hooper.)



THE JOL TOONGI IN BHOWANIPORE.  
(From a photograph by R. P. Anderson.)





tion would tell you (says a writer in the "Statesman" of November 8) that the "Toongi" was once used as a pleasure by the ladies of a certain harem who used the trap doors to bathe and fish from. It was, however, the opinion of the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge, of the Imperial Library (an old and valued member of the Society) that the building was erected by Henry Pitts Forster as a summer house for his wife, a Jat lady, and it was certainly known as "Forster's Folly." Forster entered the Company's Bengal Civil Service in 1783 and became "Register" of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs in 1794. He was an ardent student of the vernacular as well as a good amateur artist and it is said that it was largely through his efforts that Bengali became the official as well as the literary language. In 1799 he published "A vocabulary, English and Bongalee (sic) and vice versa," in two large quarto volumes, and also translated a Sanskrit Grammar. He eventually became Master of the Mint and died in India on September 10, 1815. His son, Colonel Henry Forster, C.B., who died in 1862 and is buried in the Circular Road cemetery, raised the Shekhawati Brigade (known under Lord Kitchener's nomenclature as the 13th Rajputs). The photograph of the "Jol Toongi," from which our illustration is reproduced, was taken in 1908 by Mr. R. P. Anderson, of Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Company.

A CORRESPONDENT in the *Times* of October 16 calls attention to the fact that the present year is the centenary of the evacuation of Chinsurah by the Dutch, under the terms of the Treaty of London which was signed on March 17, 1824. The last Dutch Governor was Daniel Anthony Overbeek, to whom on October 16, 1824, upon his departure for Batavia, the inhabitants of Chinsurah presented a massive silver cup. The inscription on the cup, which, with cover and salver, weighs over seventy ounces troy, testifies, in the Dutch language, to the respect and affection in which he was held. Overbeek, however, returned to Chinsurah, and died there on September 25, 1840. His tomb may be seen in the old Dutch cemetery, and also that of his son, Pieter Theodore Gerrard, who died in 1831 aged 33, and over whose last resting place these pathetic words are inscribed: "He died as Christians die, and his father envies him his grave." The cup passed into the possession of Overbeek's daughter who married Rice Davies Knight, a surgeon in the Bengal Army, and it has been presented to the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution in London. A romantic story (says the correspondent of the *Times*) attaches to the coming of the cup to Europe—connected, it would seem, with the legendary "Overbeek curse," an estate in Dorsetshire, and the establishment at ruinous expense of a leading case in English law. The Rev. Dr. Leighton Pullan, of St. John's College, Oxford, in a letter which appeared in the *Times* on October 20, adds that another Daniel Overbeek was "Commandeur" of Galle, and acted as Governor of Ceylon in 1742. Our readers will remember that a full description of the "Dutch Memorials at Chinsurah" was published last year in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. pp. 114—129).

MR. WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E., writes that in the account given of Robert Lord Lake and General Hewett. Home in W. G. Strickland's *Dictionary of Irish Artists* (p. 502) the statement occurs that "amongst other works of Home at this period (during his residence in Calcutta from 1795 to 1814) were 'Lord Lake and his Staff on their arrival at Futtehghur,' 'Lord Minto at the capture of Java,' 'Portrait of Sir George Hewitt,' and Sir Arthur Wellesley, painted for the Marquess Wellesley in 1804." A few pages later (p. 504) mention is again made of the portrait of "Hewitt" in the list of Home's pictures, and it is added that it was painted in Calcutta. Strickland was evidently unaware of the whereabouts of the picture which has now been discovered in the Calcutta Town Hall (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 59—70). As General Sir George Hewett was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1807 to 1811, he could perfectly well have sat to Home in Calcutta during his term of office. The painting of Lord Lake to which Strickland also refers, is obviously the imposing canvas which was formerly in the Town Hall and now forms part of the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. Lake was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by Hewett: and is represented on horseback with his son and successor in the title, who was his aide-de-camp. Two other members of his staff are seen riding up the hill on which he is standing, and in the background are seen artillery firing a salute and a building on fire. After Holkar's defeat at Farrukhabad in October, 1804, the army halted at Fatehgarh, and marched thence to capture the fortress of Deeg on Christmas Day.

MISS HILDA GREGG ("Sydney C. Grier") has sent us an interesting note upon Sir Robert Ker Porter, the artist to whom a reference will be found in the article in our last issue on the Seringapatam prints at the Victoria Memorial Hall (Vol. XXVIII, p. 9). Farington (she writes) was mistaken in saying that it was the Emperor of Russia who knighted Ker Porter. He was a Knight of the Order of St. Joachim, as Charles Imhoff was: and the Hastings MSS. contain several letters from a curious individual of the name of Hansen—evidently a Swede—who had obtained the decoration for Imhoff and was anxious to perform the same service for Hastings. He mentions Ker Porter as a member of the Order.

WITH reference to the note upon the civilian son of Mrs. Siddons, which appeared in our last issue (p. 118) Mr. G. O'Connell points out that an infant son of George John Siddons, who died in Calcutta in 1818, is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. The maiden name of the mother, who is said to have "derived her blood from the Kings of Delhi," was Mary Fombelle. This information (it may be added) will be found duly recorded in the excellent "Hand List of Principal Monuments in the Park Street Cemeteries," which was published in 1911 under the supervision of Mr. O'Connell and the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge.

It appears from two references in Dr. Williamson's "Zoffany" (pp. 220, 281) that a painting similar to the picture of "Lord Cornwallis and the Son of Tipoo Sahib," which formed the subject of a note by Lord Curzon in our last number (p. 1), was formerly in the possession of Major E. C. Moor, of Great Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk. In the first entry it is stated to have been bought in London about 1815 and is oddly described as a "Portrait of Lord Cornwallis delivering up a son of Tipoo Sahib to his uncle." From the second entry we learn that the picture was still the property of Major Moor in 1908 when it was lent by him to the Mohammedan Exhibition in Whitechapel. It was then catalogued as the work of Zoffany. The only obstacle to identification lies in the fact that the dimensions given are 58 inches by 48 inches, while those of the painting which is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall are 67½ inches by 55½ inches.

SINCE the publication of "The Story of James Paull" in our last issue (pp. 69—109), our attention has been drawn to the following passage in Peter Auber's "Rise and Progress of the British Power in India," a book in two volumes published by Allen and Co. of London in 1837:

Mr. James Paull had been for some time resident at Lucknow, in the prosecution of commercial pursuits. From some cause which does not appear, he was sent out of the kingdom of Oude by order of the Vizier. This act, if persevered in, would have involved his affairs in utter ruin. Through the intervention of the Governor-General, the prohibition was removed, and Mr. Paull acknowledged his deep obligations to the Marquis Wellesley, in a letter addressed to Major Malcolm, then Secretary to the Governor-General.

The same story is related in Sir Herbert Maxwell's edition of the Creevey Papers (Vol. I, p. 226). Peter Auber entered the India House in 1786 at the age of sixteen, and held the office of Secretary from 1829 to 1836, when he retired on a pension of £2000 a year which he enjoyed until his death in 1866.

FROM another source we have received an extract from an account of "Some Exquisites of the Regency," which is contained in a volume by Mr. Lewis Melville entitled "Some Eccentrics and a Woman" and published in London in 1911:

Another celebrated faro bank at Brooks's was kept by Lord Cholmondeley.

Mr. Thompson of Grosvenor Square, Tom Stepney, and a fourth. It ruined half the town: and Mr. Paul [sic] who had come home with a fortune from India, punting against the bank, lost ninety thousand pounds in one night, and at once went eastward to make another.

The authority for this story is, unfortunately, not given. But Paull, as we know, sailed for England in February, 1801, and returned to India in the year following.

MR. J. J. COTTON, I.C.S., writes: The question is asked in a footnote on William Greer, Chief page 71 of the last number, whether William Greer, Officer of the "Nassau," the Chief Officer of the *Nassau* Indiaman, which brought William Hickey as far as the Cape on his journey to Europe in 1781, is capable of identification with "William Greer of Keyhaven, Hants," who married Harriet D'Oyly, the sister of Warren Hastings' friend, the sixth D'Oyly baronet. The answer can, I think, be given in the affirmative. Lieutenant Frederick Maitland Arnott married Harriet D'Oyly Greer in Calcutta on December 22, 1785 (cf. Hickey's statement on p. 247 of the second volume of his *Memoirs*: "Mrs. Greer, the wife of the Chief Officer of the *Nassau* was an uncommonly fine woman, with three beautiful daughters, the eldest of whom married my *Seahorse* shipmate Arnott"). Four years earlier, on September 18, 1781, Charles D'Oyly of the Company's Service (the seventh baronet of later days) had married Marian Greer, the godchild of Mrs. Hastings, who died in Calcutta in 1814. As for Greer himself, it is upon record that he began his career in the Company's marine service as third officer of the *Prime* (499 tons, Captain Anthony Eglington) which made her first voyage to "the Coast" and China in 1770-1771. He was then first officer of the Company's packet *Mercury* (210 tons) from 1773 to 1776: and first officer of the *Nassau* (723 tons) from 1778 to 1780. Hickey charges him in unmistakeable language with excessive fondness for the bottle (Vol. II, pp. 190, 216) and possibly this was the reason why his name disappears from Hardy's Register for the next seven years. But we certainly come across him again as Captain of the *Belvedere* (966 tons) from 1788 to 1791. He made two voyages in her, the first to China, and the second to "the Coast" and China. John Laird (Chief Surgeon at the Presidency in 1795) of whom mention is made on page 70, sailed with him as surgeon on the *Prime*: and married in Calcutta on October 27, 1777, Elizabeth Orr, the sister of James Orr, who figures among the Englishmen represented in Zoffany's "Cock Match." He was appointed on January 28, 1785, to be Surgeon Major to the first brigade, in succession to Francis Baladon Thomas, Residency Surgeon at Lucknow, who was dismissed upon charges brought against him by John Bristow, the late Resident (see Col. D. G. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*, 1914, Vol. II, pp. 228-229). The portraits by Zoffany of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula and Hassan Raza Khan, his minister, which hang in the Finance Committee-room at the India Office, were originally presents to Thomas from the Nawab.

WE are indebted also to Mr. Cotton for the following extract from the *Art Journal* for June 1, 1859 (page 195). It was mentioned in his article on "George Beechey and His Indian Wife" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. p. 52) that, when the British soldiers looted the Kaisarbagh at Lucknow in 1857, Sir William Howard Russell, the veteran war correspondent, was given a full-sized portrait by Beechey of one of the beauties of the Court. This was not his only prize.

**THE LUCKNOW SCEPTRE :** A sceptre of agate inlaid with gems, has recently been shown by Mr. Phillips of Cockspur Street, at whose establishment it may still be examined by the curious. It is of beautiful workmanship: the head is composed of one massive piece of fine oriental agate, elaborately fluted, in the form of a mace and enriched with rubies and diamonds. A soldier found it at the sacking of Lucknow and gave it to his officer, who presented it to Mr. W. H. Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times*.

Has this sceptre shared the fate of Shah Jahan's famous "Peacock Throne," which was carried away from Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739? The fable is persistent that this relic of the grandeur of the Great Mogul is still preserved at Teheran: although Lord Curzon proved the falsity of the legend as long ago as 1892. We have, moreover, the distinct statement in Fraser's "Khorasan" that an old Kurd told that traveller in 1822 that "when Nadir Shah was murdered and his camp plundered, the Peacock Throne and the Tent of Pearls fell into our hands and were torn to pieces and divided on the spot."

**THE Metcalfe Hall,** which stands at the junction of Hare Street and the Strand Road, and was built in the forties as a memorial of Lord Metcalfe, "the liberator of the Indian Press," has entered upon a very prosaic period in its history. It has become the headquarters of the Commissioner of Income-Tax and his staff. Originally the home of the Calcutta Public Library, it provided accommodation from 1903 until the month of January last for the Imperial Library; but this has now been removed to the old Foreign Secretariat Building in Esplanade East, of which the classical features are due to Lord Curzon. The Metcalfe Hall was designed by Charles Knowles Robison, who was Police Magistrate at the time and whose skill as an architect is likewise exemplified by the Ochterlony Monument. It may arouse a flicker of interest in the incurious passer-by to learn that the model for the building was the Temple of the Winds at Athens.

It has become an accepted tradition that the portrait of Lord Metcalfe which formerly hung in the Town Hall, and has now been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall, was the work of Charles Pote, an Anglo-Indian artist, of whom some account was given in our last number (p. 67). But the name of another painter is mentioned in the following extract from Alexander's *East India Magazine* for February, 1836:

The portrait of Sir Charles Metcalfe, painted by Mr. Swaine, an East Indian artist, is now placed in the Town Hall. The picture is suspended over the first landing place of the stair case on the left on entering the north side of the building. Mr. Swaine has been very happy in the likeness of Sir Charles.

The name of G. H. Swaine "miniature painter" is to be found in the Calcutta Directories from 1835 to 1840. In 1835 he was living at 1 Circular Road.

FLAXMAN'S fine statue of the Marquess of Hastings, which has stood since 1824 in a portico on the south side of Dalhousie Square, Hastings, has now been removed to the Victoria Memorial Hall and placed between the statues of Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie in the picture gallery on the ground floor. Opposite page 132 of the present number we give a reproduction from a sketch by Sir Charles D'Oyly of the statue and portico as they appeared before the building of the Dalhousie Institute, which was formally opened by Lord Lawrence in 1870: and the picture below it will give an idea of Wellesley Place and the Institute in 1890. The portico will henceforward give shelter to Sir John Steell's marble statue of the Rt. Hon. James Wilson, Finance Member of Council from 1859 to 1860, which has hitherto reposed in the interior of the Institute.

WE have not as yet come across any notice of the death of "Bob" Pott, "Bob" Pott and his the dashing friend of William Hickey, who lived in such regal state at Moorshedabad as Company's Agent at the Durbar of the Nawab Nazim. But, in turning over a volume of the *Calcutta Gazette* for 1807, the following announcement met our eye on the very last page, in the issue for December 31: "At Dacca, on the 18th September, in consequence of an accident, Mrs. Sarah Pott, relict of Robert Pott, Esq., of the Civil Service." Can any of our Dacca members furnish information as to the circumstances in which the lady came to live in their city? Sally Cruttenden, who married Pott at Berhampore on May 18, 1786, was his first cousin and was an heiress with an income of six thousand a year. This must have been most gratifying to the bridegroom for, according to his friend, William Hickey (*Memoirs* Vol. III, p. 342) he had not saved a guinea when he was dismissed in 1788 from the lucrative offices of Resident at Moorshedabad and Collector of Customs at Cossimbazar. Unless Pott dissipated her fortune also, it is difficult to understand why she did not return to England at his death. Her name, however, appears in the list of civil pensioners for 1802, along with those of Edward Tiretta (of Tiretta's Bazar) Thomas Motte (then living at Serampore to escape his creditors) and George Williamson, the late "Vendu Master" or Company's auctioneer. There is a curious reference to Pott in the Nesbitt Thompson papers (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVI, p. 10). Thompson writes to Hastings from "Allipoor" on August 4, 1785:

Poor Pot has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villainous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Beegum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for, to go on with the metaphor, Pott boiled over and I was in danger of being scalded.

The inscription on Mrs. Pott's tomb in the English cemetery at Dacca describes her as "the relict of the late R. P. Pott, Esquire, Resident of Luck-

now," which would seem to indicate that, after the loss of his appointment, Pott joined the crowd of adventurers at the Court of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

THE same volume provides a glimpse of James Augustus Hicky, of the *Bengal Gazette*. A "True and perfect Schedule" of all sums of money belonging to various estates "committed to the charge of the Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal," is published in the supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* for October 29, 1807. It contains the following entry under the heading of "Intestates":—"James Augustus Hicky; amount of balances of the estate in cash, Rs. 1071-7-6; amount of registered claims on the estate unsatisfied Rs. 2500-0-0." His namesake William Hickey's last published reference to "his troublesome client" (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 161) leaves him in jail in 1783 and condemned to remain there until he had paid fines amounting in all to Rs. 9000. "Thus," said James to William, "am I immured in a loathsome prison for life, for all patriotism and public spirit is fled from this quarter of the Globe." James Augustus Hicky's career in India appears to have begun in 1772, for his name is given in a Directory of 1795 as having arrived in the *Rockingham* (499 tons, Captain Alexander Hamilton) from Colombo in that year and he is described as a "surgeon apothecary."

ONE of the few places in Bengal which still directly recall the days when the East India Company was primarily a trading concern, is English Bazar, or Engrezabad, the headquarters station of the district of Malda. The original factory was established at old Malda, which is situated at the junction of the Mahananda and the Kalindri and was probably at one time the port of Pandua. From John Bruce's "Annals of the Hon'ble East India Company" (1810) it appears that in 1681 the Agent in Bengal was ordered to send equal proportions of stock to Dacca and to old Malda. Five years later, the factory was seized by Shaista Khan, and one and a half lakhs of rupees were demanded by the Company as compensation. The "diaries and consultations" from 1685 to 1693 are preserved at the India Office under the title "Maulda and Englesavade." In 1771 Thomas Henchman built a commercial residency and a new factory at English Bazar, on the right bank of the Mahananda, in a mulberry growing country and it became a thriving centre of the silk trade. The factory was regularly fortified with bastions: and the modern court house and all the public buildings are gathered together within its walls. Portions of the town, which grew up round the settlement, are still known (says Mr. Lambourn, the compiler of the District Gazetteer) by such names as Lakrikhana (wood yard) and Murghikhana (fowl yard). Many of the houses are faced with carved stones from the ruins of Gour, which lie ten miles to the south west: and a collection of these stones may be seen in the court-house and in the compound of the collector's bungalow. There were also French and Dutch settlements



at English Bazar, and the residence of the Civil Surgeon was formerly a Dutch convent. A column, "erected by Thomas Henchman, 1771," stands in the cutchery compound. Richard Barwell was Commercial Resident from 1765 to 1767, and Charles Grant from 1781 to 1787.

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THE connexion of Calcutta with Assam is of so intimate a character that we offer no apology for extracting the following from  
*Discovery of the Tea Plant in Assam.* Alexander's East India Magazine for January, 1835:

The genuine tea plant has been discovered by Capt. Jenkins and Lieut. Charlton in Assam, in the province of Suddea, the north eastern boundary of our territory on the western face of the range of hills that bounds the Chinese province of Yun-nan, which is the district most celebrated for the cultivation of the tea plant. It is reported to Government that the plant is cultivated by a caste of people in the hilly tracts almost in the neighbourhood of snow, and that the leaves are prepared in a rude fashion for a beverage. The samples of leaves have been forwarded to Calcutta. No circumstance could have been more auspicious for Assam than this discovery. If tea can be raised in that country so as to bear any competition with Chinese tea, it will immediately give profitable employment to all its labourers, and become a resource of unexampled wealth to the province.

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FOR the convenience of those who wish to study the original documents connected with the story of the Mutiny at Vellore which is so admirably told by "Sydney C. Grier" on pages 166—180, we append the following bibliography which has been compiled by the author:

Memorial of Lord William Bentinck to the Court of Directors.

Parliamentary Paper, "Report of the Commission Sitting at Vellore, dated August 9, 1806."

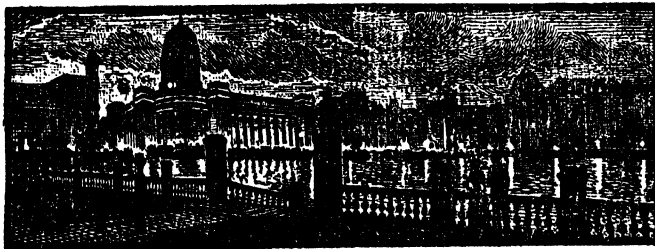
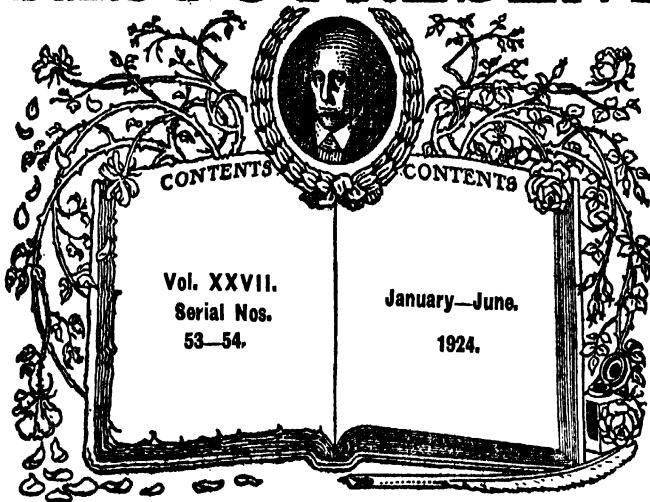
Memoir of Major-General Robert Rollo Gillespie.

Various documents in the Miscellaneous Correspondence of Warren Hastings, MS. Department, British Museum, especially Mrs. Fancourt's narrative, unsigned and incomplete, and two letters from Gillespie to Sir John Cradock. (The second of these letters is placed among the undated MSS. at the end of the series, though internal evidence shows it to have been written the day after the other.)

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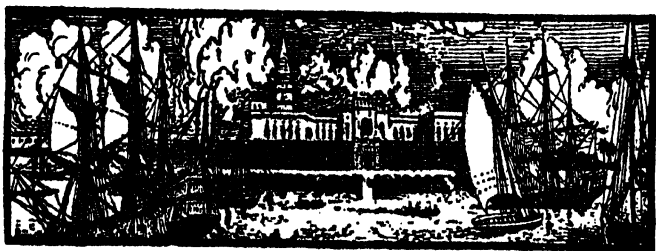
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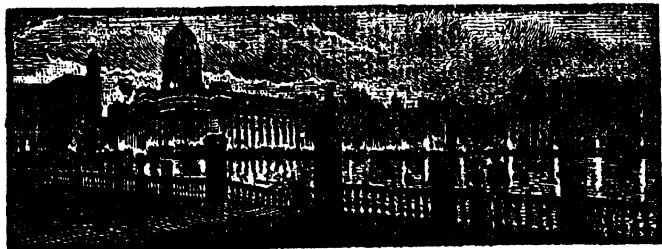
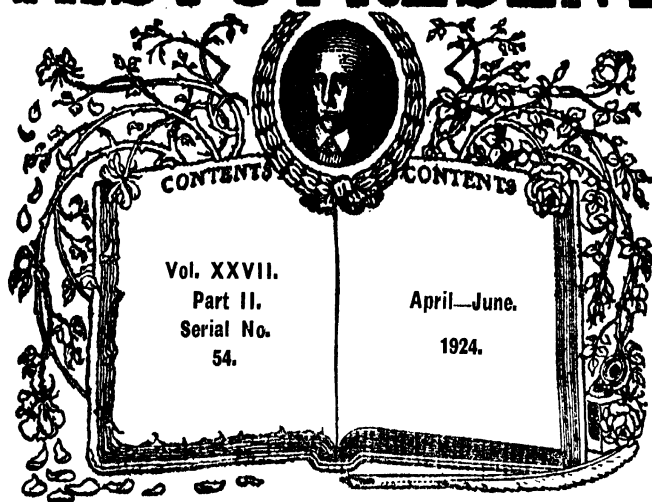
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GEORGE CHINNERY.  
(From the Portrait by Himself in the National Portrait Gallery.)

## George Chinnery, Artist, (1774-1852.)

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IN 1888 was published a little book entitled the "Early Writings of William Makepeace Thackeray" by Charles Plumtre Johnson, with illustrations after Thackeray, Chinnery, F. Walker and Richard Doyle. In this volume of some sixty-four pages are two illustrations by Chinnery: a frontispiece of Thackeray at the age of three with his mother, and on page 28 Thackeray's father. There is not a word about Chinnery in the introduction or text.

Thackeray himself refers to Chinnery's reputation as a man of paint. Readers of the *Newcomes* will remember how the Colonel, speaking of the early efforts of his son Clive, remarks: "Chinnery himself could not hit off a likeness better: Clive has drawn me on horseback, and he has drawn me on foot, and he has drawn my friend Mr. Binnie who lives with me. We have scores of his drawings at my lodgings, and if you will favour us by dining with us to-day and these gentlemen, you shall see that you are not the only person caricatured by Clive here."

There are still in existence some scores and scores of drawings by Chinnery (more than twelve hundred pencil sketches, in one lady's possession), most of them with notes jotted on the back in strange characters. Years ago one of these was sent to me with a request to pronounce whether the writing was Tamil or shorthand. I certified it to be not Tamil: and it was this introduction to the artist that put me on his track, and on it I have been ever since.

Comparatively little is hitherto known about Chinnery. There are brief accounts in Dictionaries of Artists but one notice is copied from another, and the most recent French work by Benizet conveys no new knowledge, save the names of some of his most prominent works, where they are and the prices fetched at sale.

George Chinnery was born 150 years ago on the 5th January 1774 in London. He was the son of William Chinnery of Fort St. David who owned the Chinnery Factory at Cuddalore, and there are some pencil and sepia sketches by the son with his titles "Our Factory in Cuddalore" and "the Chinnery Factory," the buildings being the same in each. There was about 1800 a well known Agency House in Madras of the name of Chase, Chinnery and Macdowell, subsequently changed into Chase, Chinnery and Sewell. The founder of the firm, Thomas Chase, one of my grand-maternal ancestors, had been a Madras Civilian who, as not unusual in those days, retired from the service to enter into business and associated with himself his brother-in-law Henry Sewell, formerly a post-captain in the Navy. The firm failed in 1822.

George Chinnery had a younger brother John in the Madras Civil Service who spent much of his life as Assistant Commercial Resident and then Com-

Paper read at the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Commission held at Madras on the 10th January 1924.

mercial Resident at Cuddalore. India of to-day has forgotten that there were such things as Commercial Residencies, but there is in the Library of the British Museum a Calendar of Fort Saint George for the year 1785 with MS. notes by Earl Macartney, in which special attention is paid by his Lordship to these posts and the persons who held them at now deserted places like Ingeram, Madepollam and Bandamoorlanka. John Chinnery died on the 15th November, 1817, aged forty, and lies buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, Madras. He was thus three years younger than his more distinguished brother.

Amusing references to the family of John Chinnery are to be found in the "Memoirs of George Elers, Captain in the 12th Regiment of Foot, 1777 to 1842" (published in London in 1903). A lively account is there given of his voyage from England to India in 1796 on board the *Rockingham*, 798 tons, Captain the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, afterwards Director of the Company for 30 years (1814 to 1844) and M.P. for Forfar. She left Portsmouth on the 27th June 1796 and reached Madras *via* the Cape on January 9th, 1797.

We had among our passengers four ladies; two very fine girls, the two Miss Smiths, about seventeen and nineteen, just come from the fashionable schools of London, Queen Square and Bloomsbury (they were the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Petrie, the second in Council at Madras); a Miss Peyton and a Miss Chinnery, her friend—the first a very handsome old maid about thirty-six, the other a good tempered but very plain girl about my own age [nineteen]. The superiority of the two Miss Smiths was very obvious. *Jemima* was a most incorrigible flirt, very clever, very satirical, and aiming at universal conquest. Her sister, *Henrietta*, was more retiring and I think more admired; at least, I know Colonel Aston was much struck with her pretty little figure and lovely neck, and she afterwards made a conquest of the future hero, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who arrived at the Cape with the 33rd Regiment a few months before us. *Mamma Payton*, too, had her admirers. She was very quiet and matronly, and rolled about her fine black eyes at dinner in every direction. Without being absolutely vulgar, she had no polish or refinement, and had evidently not been used to fashionable company, like the two Miss Smiths. As to poor Miss Chinnery, no one ever thought of her. Poor soul! She had neither beauty nor talent; but she was good natured and inoffensive and thankful *when* she received attention.

Though Elers does not mention it, John Chinnery evidently found "Mamma" Payton more attractive than he did, for he married a "Miss Mary Payton" on January 19, 1797, ten days after the arrival of the *Rockingham* in Madras Roads, the witnesses to the marriage being T. Chase, Henry Sewell and Henry Brown. "As to poor Miss Chinnery," she soon found a husband in John Duncan, a Company's Surgeon who died at Madras on April 10, 1819, as third member of the Medical Board, in the 58th year of his age and the 30th of his service. The records show that he was married at Mariangcoopam

(Cuddalore) on the 27th April 1797 by John Kenworthy "Justice" to Frances Hughes Chinnery, the sister of John and George.

In March 1805 by the H. C. Ship *Marquess Wellesley* (Captain Charles Le Blanc) there proceeded home from Madras: Mrs. Chinnery, Misses E. and M. Chinnery and Master W. and Miss E. Duncan. The Chinnerys were Mrs. John and her daughters Elizabeth and Matilda (1) and the others were her sister-in-law's children.

In Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists George Chinnery is identified as an exhibitor of crayon portraits at the Free Society in 1766. The notice in the Dictionary of National Biography by Louis Fagan doubts this identification. Had the date of his birth been known, the error might have been avoided, for the future artist was not born till 1774. In 1791, he was living at No. 4 Gough Square, Fleet Street, and from there sent miniature portraits to the Royal Academy. Readers of Sir Charles D'Oyly's "Tom Raw" may remember among the notes to canto V the following:—"Mr. C. originally practised in miniature, but nature alarmed at his prototypic progress and fearing he would come up to her, robbed him of one of his visual organs and rendered the other too weak to admit of his following this branch of the art."

As a young man Chinnery made rapid progress and in 1798 he was residing in College Green, Dublin and much patronised by the Lansdowne family. In 1801, at an exhibition held in the Parliament House at Dublin, he had eleven pictures, six portraits and five landscapes. For five years he practised in Ireland and became a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy, which explains the letters R. H. A. so often found after his name. In the Hall of the Royal Society at Dublin is an oil-painting by him of a lady seated, considered to represent Maria Marchioness of Lansdowne.

In April 1799 Chinnery married Marianne Vigne, a sister doubtless of G. T. Vigne whose Views of Cashmere are so well known. Among his best works is a portrait of his mother-in-law, whose maiden name I have not been able to discover. There were two children of the marriage, a son and a daughter. Matilda, born in October 1800, was married on the 1st October 1819 in Calcutta by the Revd. Dr. Corrie to James Cowley Brown of the Bengal Civil Service, (2) a son of the famous Dr. David Brown of Calcutta, and brother of the still more famous Madras civil servant Charles Philip Brown, better known as Pundit Brown, whose Telugu Dictionary is still a standard work. His house at Masulipatam stood on the site of the present hospital.

The son, John Eustace, was born in September 1801 and died unmarried

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(1) The Madras almanacks record the births of two children of John Chinnery and his wife, a son (Charles) who died an infant at San Thome on 15 Jan. 1800 and a daughter born at Madras in May 1801. Matilda married Captain (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel) Samuel Irton Hodgson on September 28, 1822, who died on December 27, 1836 in camp at Naugaum (Goomsoor). Mrs. Chinnery died at Cheltenham, April 28, 1847 aged 76.

(2) James Cowley Brown served thirty-eight years in Bengal, and died at Calcutta on January 15, 1852.

at Berhampore (Murshidabad) on the 10th June, 1822, aged twenty years and ten months. The grave has gone, but the following inscription is to be found on a tablet fixed in the north wall of the cemetery : " Erected to the memory of a most beloved and affectionate son by his disconsolate, affectionate and most afflicted father as a tribute to that worth, those principles and amiable dispositions which had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him to the world would have been the honour of his own life and the happiness of a family left inconsolable by his premature death."

By 1802 Chinnery had returned to London and he exhibited at the Royal Academy of that year a family group in oil. From that date his name as an exhibitor in the British Isles disappears for another 28 years. In 1802, he proceeded to Madras. I am indebted to Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., for the information (which he has obtained from the Court Minutes) that his first application to the Directors for leave to proceed to Fort Saint George was refused on the 13th May, 1802, but, upon the request being renewed, was granted six days later (3). His letters on these occasions have not, however, been traced. In the East India Registers in the Madras Record Office he is entered among the European Residents at Fort St. George as " out of employ " in 1804, and in 1805 and 1806 as a portrait painter. The India Office Lists of European Inhabitants of Madras from the 1st January, 1803, to the 1st January, 1808 include his name.

On October 4, 1804 another of the Miss Paytons, Elizabeth, was married to a civilian, Samuel Peach Boutflower, at St. Mary's in the Fort, and George Chinnery was the last of the four witnesses who subscribed their names to the Register. He wrote in a fine flowing hand. This signature is of special interest, as it is believed to be the only one in Madras, and it is worthy of remark in this connection that he invariably neglected to sign his portraits. Many of his sketches, pen and ink and pencil, are however initialled and dated with notes added in shorthand.

In the year 1807 was published a little slip of a book entitled " Views in Madras." It is excessively rare. The copy in the Imperial Library at Calcutta has lost its title page and was evidently bought at a sale in England, for it is priced 10/-. On the second blank page is written : " Edw. Orme sent him by his Brother from Madras." The Madras brother was Robert, an attorney : but they were not related to the historian. A pious hand has pencilled on the back of the page " Save this."

The booklet contains seven wood engravings, six of which are by Chinnery (Geo. Chinnery delt. et. aqua f. 1807) and one by Gantz (J. Gantz, delt.

(3) " The Directors have no objection to an Artist going, but have to guard against persons going with other views but under the name of Artists." Such was the information given by Mr. Richard Twining, the " India Director," when he applied to Joseph Farington, R.A., on June 26th, 1811, for particulars regarding " a young man named Haynes who had applied to the Court for leave to go to India as a portrait and miniature painter." The extract from the Farington Diary will be found in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI., p. 175.

et. sculp. 1807). The first plate represents a South View of the Sea Custom House Madras (commenced in April 1803 and completed in May 1804), and the second (by Gantz) a View of the Northern Front of the New Bridge near the Government Gardens. To the description of this Bridge (built on a plan furnished by Colonel Trapaud, Chief Engineer, and under his direction by Lieutenant Fraser, Superintending Engineer at the Presidency; and opened to the public in October 1805) is appended a note: "No ship having arrived from Bengal since our last, we are unable to perform our promise of furnishing Two Plates with our present Magazine—not wholly to disappoint our Patrons, we have procured an Etching from another quarter for the present month (4)."

Apparently two plates at a time were originally presented by Chinnery with a periodical known as the *Indian Magazine*, and the etching from another quarter is the plate by J. Gantz, a well known local artist, and a fine specimen of his work.

In the description to Chinnery's "View of the Banqueting Room and Part of the Government House, Madras" are a number of interesting details not found elsewhere.

The Banqueting Room at Madras is situated in the Government Gardens and is the place where on Public Nights, Entertainments are given by the Governor. It is a very large Building of the Doric Order, built by Mr. Goldingham during the administration of Lord Clive, (now Earl Powis) and is said to have cost upwards of Two lacs of pagodas. It has been stated to have been built on the model of an ancient Athenian Building, as also from a Building at Nismes called La Maison Carrée, but these accounts are erroneous. The Intercolumniation, and Pediment in the front of the Building, are taken from Richardson's Architecture; the basement story is wholly modern. The Government House, the present residence of the Right Honorable Lord William Bentinck, was originally on a very small scale, but has been added to by various Governors since the time of Sir Archibald Campbell. The most extensive improvements were made by Lord Clive. The Building to the right hand of the Plate is a small Bungalo occupied by Captain Troyer of the Military Institution (5).

(4) Want of paper in Madras was not uncommon about this time. The First Volume of William Urquhart's Oriental Obituary, an "Impartial Compilation" published at the Journal Press in 1809, opens with an advertisement that "Volume II is preparing and will be put to press so soon as paper can be procured, at present there being none in Madras which could possibly answer the purpose."

(5) Troyer and the Military Institution have gone long ago but the bungalo stands. The only memorial in Madras to any person of his name is a French Tombstone in the Roman Catholic Cathedral Armenian Street to the memory of Joseph Guillaume Antoine, infant son of Mr. Antoine Troyer and dame Anne Dejean Troyer born the 23rd February 1811 and died at the age of 20 days. His father was a resident of Pondicherry.

Another plate gives a "North East View of Fort Saint George," with a three page account of Madras, "which in point of climate may certainly be called the Montpelier of India." In the centre of the plate is the Flag Staff, appearing over the Exchange, with the long blue pennant; on the right the Signal Staff which is over the gate of the Fort Square. "When the signal is hoisted for a fleet of (or a single) Indiamen (the time of so much anxiety and pleasure to Englishmen) a long narrow blue pendant is put under the Union Flag, as seen in the Plate."

The remaining three plates are entitled "Characters," and are numbered II, III and IV in the booklet. No. I is missing.

No. II is of the Massoolah Boat: "One of the most extraordinary inventions that Navigation has to boast."

To all appearance any other kind of Vessel would be safer on the water; on the contrary no Boat of any other kind dare venture over the violent Surf, which breaks along the sea shore at Fort St. George. It is unique in its construction: equally unlike the solid canoe and the European Invention of caulked vessels. It is flat-bottomed and the planks of which it is composed are literally sewn together with the fibres of the Kyar (coir) rope (rope made from the cocoa tree) and the stitches (if they may be so called) are so little connected that it should seem there could be no security against its leaking so much as to injure its safety. To prevent any accident of this Nature each Boat is provided with a Baler. These Boats are used to convey Goods and Passengers to and from the ships in the Madras roads, and on their return from the ships they are sometimes thrown with so much violence against the shore that if they did not by their singular construction yield to the shock they would be dashed to pieces. The Steersman stands on the stern of the Vessel and the rudder is an oar simply. The Dexterity with which he balances himself in the heavy sea is perfectly astonishing. The number of Boats used is 120 and they furnish occupation for upwards of 1000 natives.

Plate IV represents "Cattamarans."

The Cattamaran is a raft composed usually of three, but sometimes of four logs of wood, which are fastened together with ropes made from the Cocoa-nut Tree. These are cut to a point at one end, whilst the other is left broad and flat; the opposing surfaces at the junction of the sides of the wood are made smooth but the upper and under parts of the raft are rounded off. They are paddled along by the Natives, and by their means communication can be held with the ships in the roads, much quicker than by the Massoolah Boat and in weather when the latter could not venture through the surf. They are managed with great ease and if the men are washed off by the surf they readily regain their station on the raft. On these rafts all species of goods can be conveyed on ship-board, that will not be

damaged by Salt Water, and when several Cattamarans are joined together, the heaviest Cannon are transported by them to and from the ships as well as Shot, Anchors, and many kinds of Military Stores.

One is reminded of Mrs. Fay's sprightly observation, twenty years earlier, that "the Madrasees appear the most pusillanimous creatures in existence, except those employed in the water, whose activity and exertions are inconceivable. They will encounter every danger for the sake of reward with all the eagerness of avarice and all the heroism of courage, so that if you have occasion to send off a note to a ship, no matter how high the surf may run, you will always find some one ready to convey it for you and generally without being damaged, as their turbans are curiously folded with waxed cloth for that purpose. So off they skip to their catamarans, for the prospect of gain renders them as brisk as the most lively European." As to Massoolah Boats and the Madras surf Mrs. Fay had personal experience. The boat on which she embarked on 18th April, 1780 was a common cargo boat with no accommodation for passengers and her only seat one of the cross beams. "It was what is called a Black Surf and there were some moments when I really thought we were gone."

Most curious is the description appended to Chinnery's Character Plate III of the Torney Ketch. "The Water Woman or Torney Ketch is a figure so frequently seen in this country, as to form a great Characteristic in the population. They are peculiar from their persons being often of a very fine shape; and the elegant manner of their carrying the Pots of Water on their head, does not fail to strike every observer. The simplicity of the dress they wear, and the style in which this is put on, gives a great similarity of appearance in them to the Antique Figures, and they are, speaking generally, very picturesque."

The three subjects of Chinnery's pencil in 1807 are graceful girls and two of them carry pots on the head, one on the top of the other. But the modern use of the name Tannicutch (as it is now spelt, and not Torney, the Tawny of our friend Mulligatawny) is confined to the female water-carrier in the kitchen. The Torney Ketch at the village well and the heavy cannon transported on triple Catamarans to the East Indiamen flying the Company's flag in the roads have gone, while the Madras surf which Warren Hastings compared to that at Margate, no longer beats up to the houses and the walls of the Fort but has receded an immense distance.

Few if any of Chinnery's paintings are discoverable in Madras. On slender authority Col. H. D. Love in his descriptive List of Pictures in Government House (1903) ascribes to him the portrait of Wallajah and Stringer Lawrence, and the original of the full length of Azim-ud-daula, tenth Nawab of the Carnatic. This last is a copy made by Thomas Day in 1820 from an original which was presented by the Nawab in 1803 to the second Lord Clive (first Earl of Powis and Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803) and carried by his Lordship to England. Chinnery had only just arrived in Madras, and the



artist is more likely to be Thomas Hickey who practised in Madras from 1800 to 1806. The picture of Stringer Lawrence and Wallajah is made up of two pictures pieced together, with a vertical seam down the middle of the canvas. E. A. Ezekiel's engraving of Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Lawrence, painted for Sir Robert Palk in 1767, and one of George Willison's portraits of Wallajah are said to have served as guides.

The late Sir Malcolm Morris in his privately printed "Annals of an Anglo-Indian Family" makes mention of an excellent portrait by Chinnery of his ancestor Peter Cherry, a famous Madras Civilian (1773-1823) and father of the three beautiful Miss Cherrys. In it his hair is shown as so grey that it was generally supposed he wore powder, but in a letter to his daughters dated the 27th March 1819 he writes, "I have let my hair grow to be able to send each of you a few locks of it. It is quite grey, but I am 46 and must expect it (6)."

Another of the interesting portraits painted by Chinnery during this period was that of the two children of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, Resident at Hyderabad (1797-1805) by Khair-un-nissa Begum, the daughter of a Hyderabad grandee. The picture is now at Torquay in Mr. Paul Phillips' house. It was formerly kept in the Rung Mehal or zenana, which James Achilles built at the back of the Chudderghaut Residency. This building fell into disrepair and was finally pulled down by Sir George Yule in the sixties. The two children are represented in Oriental dress. Their names were Catherine Aurora and James George. Catherine is the "Kitty Kirkpatrick" of Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, and according to some, the "Blumine" of his *Sartor Resartus*. She married Captain James Winsloe Phillips of the 7th Hussars, and died on March 2, 1889, at the Villa Sorrento, Torquay. Her brother died young, leaving a widow and three children. The picture must have been painted before 1805, as on September 10 of that year the two children were sent to England on board the *Lord Hawkesbury* (803 tons, Captain James Timbrell) with Captain George Elers as a fellow passenger. "We had on board," he writes in his memoirs, "a Mrs. Ure, wife of a Dr. Ure of Hyderabad (7), who had two fine children of three and four years old under her charge, the children of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, by a Princess, to whom report says he

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(6) Peter Cherry acted a paymaster to the forces at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, and received the medal. He made his name as Collector and Judge of Ganjam (1800-1806) and was killed in a carriage accident at the Cape of Good Hope on November 26, 1823. His eldest brother was George Frederick Cherry of the Bengal Civil Service, who was an artist of some merit. A portrait by him of Tippoo Sultan hangs in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office. It bears the following certificate signed by the donor, Prince Gholam Muhammad, a son of Tippoo, who died in Calcutta in 1877: "This portrait of Tippoo Sultan was painted by Mr. Cherry, Lord Cornwallis's Persian Secretary, who was afterwards [January 14, 1799] assassinated at Benares by Vazeer Alie: and was by Mr. Cherry himself presented to the Begum, mother of the Sultan, during his mission to Seringapatam in 1792." Another brother, John Hector Cherry, was Member of Council at Bombay, and died while holding that office on June 4, 1803.

(7) George Ure, Surgeon to the Hyderabad Residency, married a Miss Blair in 1798 and died on January 7, 1807.

was married. Her Highness would not part with her children until £10,000 had been settled upon each of them. They were a boy and a girl, and they had a faithful old black man, who was very fond of them to attend upon them." It was Elers' fortune, as he adds, to have "this black and white party" consigned to his care on landing at Portsmouth, and he handed over his charges two days after arrival (February 17, 1806) to their uncle Colonel William Kirkpatrick in Nottingham Place.

In 1808 Chinnery moved to Calcutta and in the Bengal List for 1810 at the India Office he is shown as residing at Dacca. It is stated in the entry that he arrived in India in 1802, that his "local license" is dated June 1808, and that he had "resided in the district" from July 15, 1808. Sir Charles D'Oyly was then (February 1808 to May 1812) Collector of Dacca: and in his correspondence with Warren Hastings refers to the advantage he had, in 1808, of continuous instruction from "a very able artist of the name of Chinnery." It was no doubt at this period that Chinnery took the sketches for the charming vignettes of local scenery which are to be found in the letter press to D'Oyly's Drawings of Dacca (4 Vols. folio, 1814, 1817, 1826, 1827). The next list is for 1812 and shows him as resident at Calcutta, living to the "eastward of Messrs. Fairlie, Ferguson and Co." The lists for 1816, 1817 and 1819 at the India Office exclude Calcutta and, possibly for this reason, do not contain his name.

Chinnery remained nevertheless at Calcutta for seventeen years and became a favourite portrait painter with all classes. In Government House there hung, in days when the Viceroy reigned there, a three quarter length by him of the first Lord Minto (now at Belvedere), and a full length of Saadat Ali, Nawab Vizier of Oudh from 1784 to 1814. The authorship of the latter, which has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla, has, however, been attributed to Home. The High Court possesses his portraits of Sir Henry Russell, the uncle of Rose Aylmer (puisne Judge 1797-1806, Chief Justice 1806-1813) painted in 1812, and of Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten robed in red (puisne Judge at Fort St. George 1809-1815, Fort William 1816-1825) painted in 1824. According to the Government Gazette of the time, "this production is one of the finest specimens of Mr. Chinnery's talents, which are universally acknowledged to be rare and splendid."

Maharajah Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore owns a number of works by Chinnery including a portrait (which hangs in Tagore Castle) of Babu Gopi Mohun Tagore, second son of Durpo Narayan, the banian of Edward Wheler, who succeeded Colonel Monson as Member of Council. It is said that Indians were at first unwilling to sit to Chinnery, on the ground that the process would entail on them a premature death. Though his brothers held back, Gopi Mohun consented to sit and so did his sons Nanda Kumar and Kali Kumar. The collection comprises two landscapes by Chinnery; one a View of the Esplanade and the Ochterlony Monument (38 by 24) and the other of Calcutta as

seen from the river (26½ by 18); also a charmingly painted little picture (12 by 9) of two Chinese coolies.

Among the lost portraits by Chinnery is one of that entertaining individual William Hickey, whose memoirs published by Messrs. Hurst and Blackett are attracting universal attention. We have it from Hickey himself that his likeness was painted by George Chinnery at Calcutta in February 1808 (apparently soon after his arrival) and presented by the artist to Sir Henry Russell and "hung in Russell's dining room in the Court House at Calcutta." A quotation from Lady Nugent's Journal (1811-1815) shows that Russell did actually reside at one time in the Court House. "Feb. 22nd 1812, Sir H. Russell, with whom we dined to-day, is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and has very excellent apartments in the Court House which is a handsome stone building, and the verandah is said to be the finest in India." A month later Lady Nugent meets Chinnery himself.

March 27, 1812, Good Friday, Mr. Shakespear introduced Mr. Chinnery (the miniature painter). Saw Chinnery's paintings—the likenesses excellent. Prevailed on Sir George to sit for me.

June 1st, Sir George sat for his picture at 7 this morning for the first time.

June 17. Sir George sits twice a day before breakfast to Chinnery. Went in the evening to see his miniatures, which are very good indeed.

These extracts are of interest as showing that, contrary to the footnote already quoted from "Tom Raw," Chinnery was still painting miniatures. He painted yet another Commander in Chief in the person of Sir Edward Paget who writes to his wife Harriet from Calcutta in February 1823 that Chinnery had made a miniature of "his darling group" and hung it himself in Belvedere which Paget was then occupying. In May 1825 he writes. "Chinnery is so uncertain a fellow that I have no dependence upon his promises. He likes landscape painting a thousand to one better than portrait painting, except when he gets so fine a subject (tell that to Caroline) as myself. Then he gets quite inspired."

Chinnery also painted Major General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814) and there is a reproduction of the picture in Beveridge's *Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. III, p. 12).

In 1838 a portrait by Chinnery was produced in Court as a witness for the prosecution in a celebrated criminal case at Hooghly. About the year 1820 he had painted Raja Protap Chand, the son of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur Tej Chand of Burdwan, who died in the following January. Fourteen years later there appeared on the scene an individual claiming to be the Raja. He was put upon his trial on charges of personation and rioting: and the picture was brought down from the Palace at Burdwan and kept in a room adjoining the Court, where it was shown to the witnesses who came forward to testify to their acquaintance with the original. The picture, a full length, and a fine composition, is now in the Banqueting hall at Burdwan: and a photograph of it has been presented by the present Maharajadhiraj Bahadur to the Victoria



RICHMOND THACKERAY WITH HIS WIFE (ANNE BECHER)  
AND SON (WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, AGED THREE).  
(From a sketch taken by Chinnery at Calcutta in 1814.)



Memorial Hall: where also there may be seen an original water-colour drawing by Chinnery of the Palace of the Nawab Nazim at Murshidabad.

There is a portrait of himself in the Asiatic Society's Rooms in Park Street, thus described in Dr. C. R. Wilson's Descriptive List (1897). "A half-length, representing an oldish man with light ruffled hair and a rather self-assertive nose. His face is clean shaven. A pair of old fashioned spectacles is on his nose, through which his light blue eyes look away to the right of the spectator with an eager ready glance. He wears a dark brown coat and a white shirt and cravat. A yellow curtain hangs behind him. Size 15 by 12 inches."

From "Tom Raw, Griffin" we learn that Chinnery lived—

In Garstin's Buildings, opposite the Church,  
Formed by the overplus of Town Hall brick,  
And just behind the houses of John B-ch,  
Up a vile lane whose odour makes one sick (8).

A rhymed description follows of his studio, an "olio of oddities" which contained "charcoal dashes of sudden thoughts, imitative keys hung on a nail, various coloured splashings, shapes of frames, houses, horses, trees, prismatic circles, five dot effigies and notes of shorthand." The reference to keys and five dot effigies are allusions to the fact that Chinnery was fond of representing by a few touches of charcoal a key hanging on a nail, shadow and all, and that it was his habit to ask his visitor to make indiscriminately five dots on a piece of paper. Out of these he would draw a figure, the dots forming the top of the head and the ends of the legs and arms.

Chinnery's next greatest pleasure to painting was to sit in smoky meditation (a hookah always at his side) over the canvas he had just finished. In conversation he was an incorrigible punster and Sir Charles D'Oyly gives examples of his puns with many apologies for their quality (9).

He is said to have talked loudly, been very boisterous, and fond of singing while at work. At this time he wore his hair long and kept it in place with a semi-circular tortoise shell comb that had "once graced the swell of crinal horrors that adorned an Indian belle."

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(8) John Brereton Birch was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1812, and is humorously described in the notes to "Tom Raw," as "a gentleman of considerable weight in Calcutta." He was for many years Police Magistrate and died at Barrackpore in 1829. Garstin's Buildings were "two ranges of buildings erected to the north of the Church by the late Chief Engineer, in each of which there are six houses adjoining each other." The "Church" is St. John's Church, and "the late Chief Engineer" is Major General John Garstin, the architect of the Town Hall, who died in Calcutta in 1820.

(9) "Your friend desires to sit?—Pray, does he draw?"

"Tis a great art—and always practised with a claw!" (éclat).

"We must beg our readers to excuse the string of bad puns which we have been obliged to introduce in this canto, as there would be no chance of portraying the character of the eminent painter without them: and the worse they are, the more faithful will be the likeness."—(Canto V. note 4).

On the wall and facing the spectator is a framed view of the "Praya Grande" (Grand Parade) at Macao. Above in left hand corner is a rich red curtain and below a small table with cups and bottles; a portfolio and papers rest against the stem of the table.

Mr. Dent called on to answer a letter about Chinnery, writes on 5-3-88 : Chinnery went to India on account of the Irish rebellion about 1801—2, told Mr. Dent he had been 50 years in the East, never went with Lord Macartney, (11) went to Madras and Calcutta, then had to bolt for China for about £40,000 of debt.

Chinnery, as has been said, excelled in every kind of art. He etched splendidly and was equally skilled in oils and water-colours. He painted miniatures, portraits, figures and landscapes but he was pre-eminently a portrait painter. His portraits have a singular charm; and the colours he used were mixed and ground in his own studio and have stood the test of time well. His sketches were in the manner of the time, carefully done with pencil and then tinted.

He had a strong and impressive personality. The story of the aversion which Indians had to be being painted by him on the ground that it would entail premature death is capped by the Chinese myth that he lived to be a hundred and died in 1873.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

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Article in the *Pioneer*, January 26, 1919 : "from our own correspondent" (two columns) evidently Mr. Douglas Dewar, I.C.S., as the greater part of the article is republished with three illustrations (Hukkabardar, Waterwomen, and South View of the Sea Custom House, Madras) under his name in the *Indian Pictorial Magazine* for Saturday, April 28th, 1923.

Personal information supplied by Miss M. B. Maguire, of 7 Harcourt Terrace, Dublin (1908).

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(11) This corrects the statement made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Chinnery accompanied Lord Macartney's mission to Peking in 1793.

## The First Coming of the English to Bengal.

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IN March, 1633, the agent of the East India Company at Masulipatam, on the Coromandel coast, determined to send an expedition to open up trade with Bengal (1). The party, which consisted of eight Englishmen, proceeded up the coast in a "junk" or country boat, and landed at the modern village of Harishpur at the mouth of the river Patua in Orissa. Thence they ascended the river in small boats to Kosida and took the high road to Cuttack, past the village of Balikunda and the town of Hariharpur or Jagatsinghpur. To the north of Cuttack at the junction of the Mahanadi and the Katjuri, stood Fort Barabati, where Agha Muhammad Zaman, the Mogul Governor, held his court in the palace of Malcandy or Mukund Deo, so called after the last Hindu ruler of Orissa, by whom it had been built.

An account of the expedition to Malcandy has been left by William Bruton, one of the party, and it is here reproduced *in extenso* from the copy of the book, published in 1638, which is preserved in the Goethals Library in Calcutta. It was reprinted in 1752 in the eighth volume of Osborne's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* and also in the fifth volume of the enlarged edition of Hakluyt which was published in 1809-1812. Neither of these works is however, readily accessible. Portions of the text are quoted by the late Mr. C. R. Wilson in the first volume of his "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" and use has been made of his admirable footnotes in elucidating obscure allusions.

The English were sadly behind in recognizing the commercial importance of Bengal. As early as 1530 the Portuguese ships were anchoring in Garden Reach at Betor: and attracted, no doubt, by their operations, the Setts and Bysacks settled at Gobindpore (on the site of the present Fort William) about 1550 and opened a hat, or market, at Suttanuttee. The Portuguese factory at Hooghly dated from about 1570, and it was also at this period that the forts were built at Makwa Thana (on the spot now occupied by the Botanical Gardens). The Dutch followed with a factory of their own at Golaghat (also in

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(1) The first English settlement at Masulipatam was in 1611. In August 1699 Mr. Thomas Pitt, landed there as Agent for the New East India Company and assumed the title of President of the Coromandel Coast and Consul for the King of England. In 1700 the Old Company resolved to re-establish a Chief and Council there and despatched a force of twenty-four soldiers with a Lieutenant, Sergeant and Corporal. The site of the factory is in the quarter of the town called Englishpalem, and of the French and Hollander Companies in Frenchpettah and Valandupalem. A grave is still extant which bears the inscription "John Rowland, 25th August, 1710."



Hooghly town) about 1650, and moved to Chinsurah some six years later. The Danes came upon the scene with a factory at Balasore about 1636 (2).

The history may be told in a few sentences of the factory which was founded by the English in 1633 at Hariharpur some eleven miles from Balikuda, and about twenty-five from Cuttack. Bruton's town of Hariharpur, which was "six or seven miles in compass" must have included the neighbouring villages. The place was unhealthy and five out of six factors died during 1633, together with a number of the crew of the *Swan* which arrived off the coast in July, and several of the *Thomas*, which followed soon after. The factory fell into decay: and the silting up of the river Alanka completed its ruin.

The factory at Balasore which was established at the same time, had a longer life. In 1641 the ship *Diamond* was ordered to Balasore to pay off the debts incurred by the factors and to bring them away. But Francis Day, the founder of Fort Saint George, who visited the place in that year on a tour of inspection, strongly opposed such a step: "Do not abandon Ballasor," he wrote, "after all your trouble and expense." The Madras Council referred the matter to their honourable masters in London: and in 1650 it was resolved to despatch the *Lyonesse* to found a settlement in Bengal. In the year following a factory was opened by James Bridgman and Edward Stephens at Hooghly, which thus became the chief station of "the Bay," with agencies at Balasore, Patna, Cossimbazar, and Rajmehal. Gabriel Boughton, who had been surgeon of the *Hopewell* and had been sent from Surat to Agra in 1645, was residing at Rajmahal with Shah Shuja, the Governor of Bengal: and in 1652 obtained for the sum of Rs. 3,000/- letters patent empowering the English to trade in the province without payment of customs or dues. In 1657, the "Madrassers" again determined to withdraw their factories from the Bengal sea-board: but the project was frustrated by Cromwell's reorganization of the Company. The settlement at Balasore was again nearly abandoned in 1686. Charnock who had been driven out of Hooghly, sacked the place in 1687, and the exploit was repeated by Captain Heath in the following year. Balasore remained unoccupied until 1690, when Aurangzeb granted a new firman for the re-establishment of the English factories in Bengal. In 1751 Orissa was ceded by Ali Verdi Khan to the Mahrattas, whose incursions had become constant. Three years earlier, we find Mr. Kelsall, the Resident at Balasore, reporting that the Mahrattas had attacked the factory at Bulramgurry, at the mouth of the Balasore river. After the fall of Fort William in 1756 the factors at Balasore joined the refugees at Fulta. The Mahratta occupation lasted until 1803, when the forces of the Bhonsla Rajah were ejected without serious opposition by expeditions sent from Ganjam and Fort William (3). Henceforward Balasore becomes the headquarters of a British district.

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(2) Besides the Danes, the French and the Dutch had factories or trading-lodges at Balasore. Ulandshahi (Holland-Shahi) and Dinamardanga were ceded to the British in 1846. The French *loge*, which is known as Farashdanga, is still under the control of the Administrateur at Chandernagore, but is leased out by public auction every year.

(3) To this day the peasant's phrase for oppression is "Mahratta amal."

News from the East-  
Indies :

Or,

A Voyage to Bengalla, one of the greatest  
Kingdomes under the High and Mighty  
Prince Pedesha Shassallem, usually called the  
Great Mogull.

With the state and magnificence of the Court of  
Malcandy, kept by the Nabob Viceroy, or vice-  
King under the aforesayd Monarch : Also their  
detestable Religion, mad and foppish  
rites, and Ceremonies, and wic-  
ked Sacrifices and impious  
Customes used in  
those parts.

Written by William Bruton, now resident in the Parish  
of S. Saviours Southwark, who was an eye and eare  
witness of these following Descriptions : and  
published as he collected them being resi-  
dent there divers yeares : and now lately come  
home in the good Ship called the Hope-  
wel of London, with divers Merchants  
of good account which are able  
to testifie the same for truth.

Imprinted at London by I. Okes, and are to be sold by Humphery  
Blunden at his shop in Corne-hill at the signe of the Castle  
neere the Royall Exchange, 1638.

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A Rare and most Strange/Relation from *Bengalla* in the/*East-Indies*, being  
one of the greatest/*Kingdomes* under the Great *Mogull*,/and of their Lawes,  
*Manners*,/and Customes, &c.

Although divers learned, painefull, and skilfull *Mathematicians* and  
*Geographers* have with great Industry spent much profitable Time, in finding  
out the Circumference of the Terrestriall Globe, in describing Empires, King-  
domes, Principalities, Lordships, Regions, Provinces, Territories, Variations  
of *Climates* and Scituations, with the diversities of Dispositions, of Tongues,  
Religions, Habits, Manners, Lawes, and Customes of sundry Nations : Though  
much labour, perill, and Cost hath beene worthily imploy'd by *Pliny* the second,  
*Ortellius*, *Iodoco Hondius*; or (to come nearer) to our *English* Worthies, such

as are described in the Booke of *Hacklewicks Voyages*, namely, *Windam*, *Chan-* [2] *celour*, *Grinvill Willoughby*, *Drake*, *Cavendish*, *Gilbert*, *Chidly*, *Frobusher*, *Clifford*, *Sidney*, *Deuoreux*, *Wingfield*: as also the exceeding paines taken by Mr. *Samuel Purchase*, and the Learned and Renowned Knight Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in their Descriptions of the whole World, not forgetting the perills that Mr. *Sands* passed in his tedious Travels, with his exact Relations and Descriptions: With *Atlas* newly Imprinted, (a rare Worke) and lastly *William Lithgow* deserves a kind Remembrance of his Nineteen years sore and dangerous Travels of his Feete and Pen, worthy your Observation and Reading.

But all these Authors and Actors both of History and Travell, did never discover all, but still (out of their plentiful Harvests of Observations) they left some Gleanings for those that came after them to gather. For the manifestation whereof in this following Discourse, I have tyed and bound my selfe to speake onely Truth, though it seeme incredulous or Hyperbolicall, and if I should any way sway or stray from the Truth, there are living men of good Fame, Worth, and Estimation, who are able and ready to disprove me.

Therefore briefly to the matter in hand: I *William Bruton* was shipp'd as a Quarter-master, from the Port of *London*, to serve in the good Ship called the *Hope-well*, of the Burthen of 240 Tunnes. To relate our long and tedious passage by Sea, and our Arrival at every Port and Haven, were but little to the purpose, and would [3] more tire than delight my Reader: Therefore to begin, that after my Arivall in those parts, and in my services and passages there for the space of 7 yeeres, I observed many things, and put them in Writing; but afterwards I came to know that the same things had beene discover'd and described formerly by more sufficient and able men of Capacity than my selfe, I thought good to keep them to my selfe, and discover nothing but that which before was not so fully or scarce knowne as I shall now decypher them.

The 22 of *March*, 1632. I being in the Countrey of *Cornadell* with sixe Englishmen more at a place called *Massalupatam*, (a great Towne of Merchandize) Master *John Noris*, the Agent there, was resolved to send two Merchants into *Bengalla*, for the settling of a Factory there, and these sixe English men (of the which I was one) were to goe with the Merchants, and withall to carry a Present from the Agent to the *Nabob*, (or King) of that Countrey, to obtaine the promises that formerly hee had granted to the *English* for Traffick, and to be Custome-free in those of his Dominions and Ports. Wherefore a *Junke* was hired at *Massalupatam* to be our Convoy; the said *Junke* did belong unto those parts, and the Names of the English men that were appointed for that voyage, were Mr. *Ralph Cartwright Merchant*, Mr. *Thomas Colley* second, *William Bruton*, *John Dobson*, *Edward Peterford*, *John Bassley*, *John Ward*, and *William Withall*.

[4] Though we hired the afore-said *Junke*, *March 22*, yet it was the 6. of *Aprill* following before we could be fitted to depart from *Massalupatam*, and

in much various Weather, with many difficulties and dangers, (which to relate here, would be tedious and impertinent to my intended Discourse) the 21. of *Aprill*, being then *Easter-day*, we were at anchor in a Bay before a Towne called *Harssapoore*: It is a place of good strength, with whom our Merchants doe hold Commerce with correspondency. This 21. day in the morning Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* sent the Moneys a shore to the Governor of *Harssapoore*, to take it into his safe-keeping and protection till such time as he came a shore himselfe. So presently there came a *Portugall* Friggat fiercely in hostility towards us, but we made ready for their entertainment, and fitted our selves and the Vessell for our best defences: but at last they steered off from us, and upon our command shee came to an Anchor somewhat neare us, and the Master of her came aboard of us, who being examined whence he came, and whither he was bound, to which demands he answer'd nothing worthy of beleefe, as the sequell shewed; for hee seem'd a friendly Trader, but was indeed a false Invader, (where opportunity and power might helpe and prevaile) for on the 22. day Mr. *Cartwright* went a shore to the Governour of *Harssapoore*, and on the 24. day the said Master of the Frigat (with the Assistance of some of the ribble rabble Rascalls of the Towne) did set upon Mr. *Cart-* [5] *wright* and Mr. *Colley*, where our men (being oprest by multitudes) had like to have beene all slaine or spoyld, but that (*Lucklip*) the *Rogger* (or Vice King there) rescued them with 200 men.

In this fray Mr. *Thomas Colley* was sore hurt in one of his hands, and one of our men much wounded in the legge and head; their *Nockado* or *India* Pilot was stab'd in the Groyne twice, and much mischief was done, and more pretended, but by Gods helpe all was pacified.

The 27 of *April* we three tooke leave of the Governour, and Towne of *Hassarpoore*, (I meane three of us) namely, Mr. *Cartwright*, *William Bruton*, and *John Dobson*; leaving Mr. *Colley* and the other foure men with him, till newes could be sent backe to them from the Nabobs Court, at *Cutteke* or *Malcander*, of our successe and proceedings there with our other goods, for he is no wise Merchant, that ventures too much in one bottome, or that is too credulous to trust *Mahometanes* or *Infidels*.

And having laden our small Boats with the goods, (which were Gold, Silver, Cloth, and Spices, (of which spices those parts of *India* are wanting, and they almost are as deare there as in England) we passed some two Leagues and halfe by Water, and after that, the said goods were carried by land in Carts, till wee came to a great Towne called *Balkkada*, but it was more than three houres after Sunne-setting, or late before we came thither.

The 28 of *April* in the Morning, the Go- [6] vernour of this Towne came and saluted our Merchant, and promised him that whatsoever was in his power to doe him any friendly courtesie, he should command it; and indeed he was every way as good as his word; for hee lent us Horses to ride on, and Cowlers (which are Porters) to carry our goods (for at this Towne the

Carts did leave us, and our goods were carried on mens shoulders: then we set towards, being accompanied with the Governour, with his Musicke, which were Shalmes, and Pipes of sundry formes, much after the formes of Waits or Hoboyes, on which they play most delicately out of Tune, Time, and Measure. In this manner the Governour, with a great number of people did bring us about halfe an English Mile out of the Towne, where he courteously tooke his leave of us, but yet he sent his servants with us as guides, and that they might bring his Horses backe to him, that he lent unto us.

This towne of *Balkkada*, is a strong and a spacious thing, very populous: There are many Weavers in it, and it yeeldeth much of that Countrey fashion Cloath. This day, about the houres of betweene eleven and twelve of the Clocke it was so extreame hot that we could not travell, and the winde did blow with such a soultering scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an Oven or Furnace, such a suffocating fume, did I never feele before or since, and here we were forced to stay neare three houres, till the Sunne [7] was declined, we having happily got under the shadow of the branches of a great Tree all that time. Then we set forward for the Towne of *Harharrapoore*: which in the space of two houres or a little more, wee drew neare unto: so we stayd awhile till our carriages were come up together unto us; which done, there met us a man, who told us that his Master staid our coming, then we speedily prepared our selves for the meeting of so high esteem'd a person: and when we came to the Townes end, there did meete us at a great *Pogodo* or *Pagod*, which is a famous and sumptuous Temple (or Church) for their Idolatrous service and worship there used, and just against their stately and magnificent building, we were entertained and welcomed by one of the Kings greatest Noblemen, and his most deare and chieftest favourite, who had a Letter from the King his Master, and was sent from him to meete us, and conduct us to his Court. The Noble mans name was *Mersymoine* (4). He did receive us very kindly, and made us a very great feast or costly colation before supper; which being done we departed for our *Sirray* (5), (or *Inne*) where we lay all night with our goods: but *Mersymoine* staid with his followers and servants in his and their Tents at the *Pagod*.

The 29 day of *April* wee staid at *Harharrapoore*, and visited this great man, but the greatest cause of our staying, was by reason that the *Nockada* (or *Pilot*) of the *Frigget*, whose [8] men did affront and hurt some of our men at *Harssapoore*, for which cause the *Frigget* was staid there, and the *Pilot* of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to winne him to cleare his Vessell, (the which he thought to make prise of) but he would not be allured by such rewards or promises; but told him that he must appeare before the *Nabob*, and seeke to cleare himselfe there.

The 30 of *April* we set forward in the Morning for the City of *Coteke* (it is a City of seven Miles in compasse, and it standeth a mile from *Malcandy*,

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(4) *Mirza Mogin*.

(5) *Serai*.

where the Court is kept) but Master *Cartwright* staid behinde, and came after us, accompanied with the said Noble man: We went all the day on our journey till the Sun went downe, and then we staid for our Merchant, being eight English Miles from *Coteke*, and about twelve or one of clocke at night they came where wee were: so we hasted, and suddainly got all our things in readinesse, and went along with them, and about the time of three or foure of clocke in the Morning we came to the house of this *Mersymomeine* at *Coteke*, being May day.

Here we were very well entertained, and had great variety of sundry sorts of meates, drinks, and fruits, such as the Countrey yeelds, even what we could or would desire fitting for our use. About eight of the Clocke *Mersymomeine* went to the Court, and made knowne to the King, that the English Merchant was come to [9] his house: then the King caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, and to bee sent to the house of *Mersymomeine*, which banquet was very good and costly. Then, about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were sent for to the Court of *Malcandy*, which is not half a mile from *Coteke*. The magnificence of which Court, with the stately Structure and situation of the place, as well as my weake Apprehension can enable, I describe as followeth.

#### THE COURT OF MALCANDI IN BENGALLA.

Going from the house of *Mersymomeine*, we passed over a long stone Cawsey, of some two foote in breadth, and at the end thereof we entered in at a great gate, and being conducted along further we came into a *Bussar*, or very faire Market place, where was sold a great number of all sorts of Fruits, Hearbes, Flesh, Fish, Fowle, Rice, and such like needfull commodities and necessaries as the Countrey yeelded. (which is very fertile) Having passed this place, we did enter in at a second gate, where was a guard of some fifty armed men, and so we came into a place all paved with great stones or as it may fitter be called, a faire and spacious [10] streete, where Merchants seated on both sides the way, were buying and selling all kind of their own and forraigne wares and merchandizes that was very rich and costly.

Passing this place we entered in at a third gate, where was another guard of one hundred Men Armed: by this Gate was a great *Pogodo* or *Pagod*, which joyned to the Southermost part of the Kings house. In this Streete there were houses but one side of the way, for on that side that the Kings house was on there was no other House but that. Then we came to a fourth Gate, which was very spacious and high, and had two lofty stories one above the other, and upheld by mighty Pillars of gray Marble, most curiously Carv'd and Polish'd: At this Gate was a great Guard of 150 men or more, all armed.

Going through this Gate, we entred into a very great broad place or streete, (much of the breadth of the streete betweene *Charing Crosse* and

*White-Hall*, or broader, and no dwelling in it; here we passed the wall of the Kings House, or Palace, till we came to the Court Gate.

In this broad street are every day 1000 Horses in readinesse for the Kings use; (for he hath alwaies 3000 at an houres warning, in the two Townes of *Coteke* and *Malcandy*; whereof 1000 alwaies waiteth at the Kings Gate, and so by turnes doe all the rest attend as their places and services require.

Over against the Gate of the House is a very great house of Timber, whose Chambers are [11] made with Galleries, built and supported with great Arches to uphold the Roofe: In these Galleries there were men that played on all kind of loud Instruments, every morning they beganne to play at foure of the clocke, and gave over at eight.

On the North side of the Gate is a small Tower buildd with two hollow Arches, wherein are placed two mighty Images of stone, with great Pipes of Iron placed in their breasts, and by devices in the lower roomes, they doe make fire and water to flash and spout out of those Pipes on Festival dayes. On the South side of the Gate there standeth a great Elephant, artificially wrought of gray Marble, but for what use I know not.

At the entrance into the Pallace Gate, we passed through a guard of 150 men armed, the Pillars within were all of gray Marble, carved three Stories one above the other. The outward Court was paved all with rough hewne Marble. On the South side of the Pallace were houses wherein were men, cunning workers in rich workes, imployed onely for the Kings use and service.

On the North side (in the Pallace) a faire fabrick buildd, wherein was erected two stately Tombes, who were founded by one *Backarcaune* (6),— he was *Nabob*, and predecessour to this *Nabob* now governing: and at the East end of the Pallace there was a faire place made and paved with broad gray Marble, and curiously railed about, the Rayles being foure foote and halfe high from the ground, and a very faire Tanke, which is a square pit paved with gray Marble, with a Pipe in the mid'st of it, whose water descended betweene two Walls, with the formes of Fishes [12] of sundry sorts, carved in stone very artificially, as if they had beene swimming or gliding up the Wall against the streame.

At this East end there was also a second Gate, where was a Guard of 100 men armed; here stood also men that did keepe the time of the day by observations of measures of Water, in this manner following: First, they take a great pot of Water of the quantity of three Gallons, and putting therein a little pot of soemwhat more than half a pinte (this lesser pot having a small hole in the bottome of it) the water issuing into it, having fild it, then they strike on a great plate of brasse, or very fine metal, which stroak maketh a very great sound, this stroak, or parcell of time they call a *Goome*, the final pot

(6) Bakir Khan was succeeded as Governor of Orissa by Muhammad Zaman Khan in 1631-2 A.D.

being full they call a Gree, 8 Grees maketh a Par, which Par is three houres by our accompt.

They likewise do begin the day at the houre of sixe in the morning, and it is ended with them at sixe at night: here we entred into the second Pallace, which had in the mid'st thereof a faire and sumptuous Theatre built, and about it was made small bankes, whereon were planted great varieties of fruits and flowers, very sweete to the sent, and pleasing to the sight, this place was also curiously railed in round: Then we entered into a narrow passage betweene two high stone Walls, where there was another Guard of 250 men armed: This passage brought us to a third Gate, wherein wee entred into a third Pallace or pleasant prospect, for in the mid'st of it there was a very faire pavement of Marble,—square, of the largenesse of—yardes every way, and railed some three foot halfe higher than the ground, [13] that was on the out-sides of it: it was likewise delicately rayled about, and in the midst of it there was a faire arched placed roofed, into whose entrance was an ascent of foure steps high, and all the roomes in it were spread or over-laid on the floore with rich Carpets exceeding costly.

The space betweene the outward Railes and these Roomes, was about 30 Foote, and the length 80 foote on the one side, but on the other side was a faire Tanke of water.

This place they call the *Derbar* (or place of Councell, where Law and Justice was administered according to the Custome of the Countrey, and it was likewise adorn'd and beautified with very pleasant Trees and Flowers, and Bankes about them with Gutters between the Bankes, in which Gutters water passed for the cooling and watering of them, and the water proceeded from the Tanke afore-mentioned. Here we stay'd the space of some two houres (or thereabouts) looking up and downe, and being looked upon by Souldiers, and such fashioned Gentlemen as the Court yeilded; (for there were more than 100 men armed, which were of the *Nabobs*, or King Privie Guard) At last the word came forth that the King was coming: then they hasted and over-laid the great large pavement with rich Carpets, and placed in the midst against the Railes, one fairer and richer Carpet than the rest, wrought in *Bengalla-worke*: They likewise placed a great round pillow of red Velvet on this Carpet; they placed also sixe small Pillars of Gold on the ends and sides of the rich Carpet, to hold it fast or presse it to the ground, lest it should be raised with the Winde. They also placed [14] upon the Railes a Pannell of Velvet to leane on: At the last his Majesty came accompanied with the number of 40 or 50 of his Courtiers, the most part of them were very grave men to see to: Also the *Nabobs* owne Brother (a comely Personage) did beare the Sword before him. Then the Noble-man (*Mersymomein*) presented our Merchant (Mr. *Ralph Cartwright*) to the King, who did obedience to him, and the King very affably bended forward (in manner of a *Curtsie* or *Respect*) and withall leaned his Armes on two mens shoulders, and slipped off his Sandall from his foote (for he was bare-legged) and presented his Foot to our Merchant



to kisse, which hee twice did refuse to doe, but at the last hee was faine to doe it : then the King sate downe, and caused our Merchant to be placed by his Brother : His Counsell sate all along by the foot-pace of the Roomes before-mentioned, his Brother and his Favorites sate thwart the place or Pavement, every one sitting in the fashion of a Tayler crosse-legg'd.

The Assembly being set, our *Present* was presented to the King, which was some Twenty pounds of Cloves, Twenty pounds of Mace, Twenty pounds of Nutmegs, two Bolts of Damaske, halfe a Bale, or fourteene yards of Stammel-cloath, one faire Looking-glasse, whose frame was gilded, one Fowling-piece, with two Locks, and one double Pistoll; this was the Present which the King received with much acceptation and content, and withall demanded the cause of our Comming and our Request : To whom our Merchant answer'd, that he was come to desire his Majesties Favour and Licence for free Trade in his Countrey, and not to pay any Junkan—(or Cu- [15] stome). At this request he seem'd to make a stand, (and pausing a little) he conferr'd privately with his Councell, but gave us no Answer.

Our Merchant likewise requested that the *English* Merchants Trading for the *East-Indies*, might have free Licence to come with their shipping, small or great, into the Roads and Harbours of his Sea-port-Townes, or to any Havens or Navigable Rivers, or any such place or places as shall be found fitting for the safeguard, building, or repairing of the said Vessels belonging to the honourable Company. And likewise to transport their goods either off or on the shoare, without let or hinderance of the Natives of the Countrey : Likewise to have his Licence to quoyne Moneys, Gold or Silver, Countrey-money, and such as is currant with the Merchant.

By this time that our Merchant had ended the Relation of his Suits, and cause of his comming, the Kings Minister with a loud voyce called to prayer. Then the King speedily arose from his Seate, and all his Company went with him, and wee were dismiss till prayer was ended. When the Minister came, there was a large covering spread over the rich Carpets; the covering was of black and white cloaths, on this they all stood, and when they kneeled, they did kneele with their faces towards the going downe of the Sun, (which is to the West). Prayer being ended, the Assembly sate againe concerning our Propositions, all other businesses were laid aside; being now the shutting in of the Evening, there came a very brave shew of lights in before the King. The fore-most that came, were sixe Silver Lanthornes, usher'd in by a very grave man, having in his hand a Staffe over-laid with Sil- [16] ver, and when he came to the steps of the Pavement, he putts off his shooes, and came to the Carpets, making obedience : so likewise did those that bore the Sixe Lanthornes; but all the other lights, being one hundred and thirty, stood round about the Railes. Then the Usher tooke the Lanthorne that had two lights in it, and (making obedience) fitted his armes aloft, and made an ample Oration which being ended, they gave all a great *Salame*, or kind of Reverence with

a loud voyce, and departed every one, and placed the lights according as the severall offices and places did require. Here we stay'd till it was between Eight and Nine of the Clocke at Night, but nothing accomplished; onely wee had some faire promises of furtherance by some of the Courtiers: Thus wee were dismist for that time, and wee returned for our Lodging at *Mersymomeins* house at *Coteke*, accompanied with a great multitude of people, and many Lights, who much admired our kind of habit and fashion.

The second day, wee came in the After-noon againe to the Court before the *Nabob*, which being set, there meete us at the *Derbar* (or Councell-house) our old Enemy the *Nockada* of the Frigget, who made a great complaint against us, that wee had fought to make prize of his Vessell, and to take his goods by force: hee had likewise given a great gift to a Nobleman to stand his friend, and speake in his behalfe.

Our Merchant pleaded likewise, that all such Vessells as did Trade on the Coast, and had not a *Passe* either from the *English*, *Danes*, or *Dutch*, was lawfull Prise. Hee answer'd that he had a *Passe*; our Merchant bid him produce the same before the *Nabob*, and hee would cleare him: to which the *Nabob* and the [17] whole Councell agreed: but hee could shew no *Passe* from any of the afore-named Nations, but he shew'd two *Passes* from (or of) the *Portugals*, which they call by the name of *Fringes* (7), and thus was he cast, and we had the better of him before the King and Councell.

But then stood up the Nobleman to whom hee had given a Reward, (who had also a little knowledge or insight in Sea-affaires) and said, what Stranger seeking a free Trade, could make prize of any Vessell within any of the Sounds, Seas, Roads, or Harbours of his Majesties Dominions? This hee spake not so much for the good of the King, but thinking and hoping that the Vessell by his meanes should have beene clear'd with all her goods, and the *Nockado* (or Pilot) acquitted, that so by those meanes hee might have gained the more and greater Rewards; but hee was quite deceived in his vaine expectation. For the *Nabob* perceiving that shee belonged to *Pyplye*, a Port-Towne of the *Portugals* (8), whom the *Nabob* affects not, where the *Portugals* were resident, and that shee was not bound for any of his Ports, hee made short worke with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently, for hee

(7) Farangis, Franks. St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras, is called in Tamil Parangi Malai, from the original Portuguese Settlement there.

(8) The Portuguese settled in 1599 at Pipili, near the mouth of the river Subarnarekha: and the place became an important centre of the trade, and a slave market for the sale of the prisoners captured by the Arakanese and Mugh pirates. Bernier (1660) mentions it as the port from which he began his nine days' journey to Ogouli (Hooghly) in a seven-oared scallop. Capt. Alexander Hamilton, who "resided in those parts from the year 1688 to 1723," states that Pipili was "honoured with English and Dutch factories" but "at present it is reduced to beggary, by the removal of the English factory, the merchants being all gone." In Walter Hamilton's "Hindustan" (1820) it is said that the English merchants removed to Balasore, as the floods of the Subarnarekha had washed away a great part of the town of Pipili, and formed a dangerous bar in the river. The place, has now altogether ceased to exist.

confiscated both vessell and goods all to himselfe. Whereby the Noble-man was put by his hopes, who was indeede a Governour of a great Sea-Towne, whereto much Shipping did belong, and many Ships and other Vessels were builded. Our Merchant seeing that hee could not make prize of the Vessell or the goods, nor have any satisfaction for the wrongs which he and our men had received, he rose up in great anger, and departed, saying, that if hee could not have Right here, he would have it in another place, and so went his way, not taking his leave [18] of the *Nabob*, nor of any other, at which abrupt departure they all admired.

The third day in the Morning the King sent for our Merchant by the Lord Comptroller of his Court, who went with him accompanied with *Mersynomein* and others to the *Derbar*, where there was a very grave Assembly set: Then came the King, who being set, he smiled upon our Merchant, and (by an Interpreter) demanded the cause why hee went away the last Evening (or over-night) in such an anger? To whom he answer'd boldly and with a sterne undaunted countenance, that he had done his Masters of the Honourable Company wrong, and (by his might and power) had taken their Rights from them, which would not be so endured or put up. The King hearing this, demanded of the Assembly, which were as well Merchants as Nobles, (in the *Persian* Tongue) of what strength and force our shipping were, their Number, Burthen, and Force, where our chief place of Residence was for Trading: Hee likewise sent for *Persian* Merchants, and did diligently enquire of them the same demands and questions: who answer'd, that we had great Trading on the Coast of *Cormadell, India*, and *Persia*; and likewise in the South-Seas, as *Bantam, Japaro, Janbee*, and *Macossor* (9): They further told the Nabob, that our Shipping were great, and of great force withall, and likewise if his pleasure was such as to be at ods with us, there neither could, would, or should any Vessell, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stirre out of any Havens, Ports, or Harbours of his Majesties Dominions, but they would take them, and make prize of them, for they were not able to withstand their force. At these [19] words the King said but little, but what he thought, is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

Then the King turn'd to our Merchant, and told him in *Moore's* Language (the which he could very well understand) that he would grant the *English* free Trade upon these Conditions following.

That if the *English* Ship or Ships should at any time see any Ship or Ships, *Junke* or *Junks*, or any other Vessell of the *Nabobs*, or any of his Subjects in distresse either by foule Weather, or in danger of Enemies, or in any other

(9) "India" here means the Malabar Coast. A factory was established in 1603 at Bantam on the west coast of Java, and another in 1626 at Japara on the north coast of that Island. In 1613 a ship was sent to Jambi, on the north-eastern side of Sumatra, "hitherto not discovered by any Christians." Macassar was at the extreme end of the south-western peninsula of Celebes—Wilson.

extreamity, that we (the *English*) should helpe, aide, and assist them to our powers; or if it happened they were in want of Cables, Anchors, Water, Victualls, or any other necessities whatsoever that did belong to them, that we the said *English* should helpe them as we were able. Likewise that we the said *English* should not make prize of any Vessell belonging to any of the Dominions of the said *Nabob*, and that we the said *English* should not make prize of any Ship, Vessell, or Vessels, within the Ports, Rivers, Roads, or Havens of the *Nabob*, though they were our Enemies; but at the Sea wee might make prize of them if we could: to this all our Merchants agreed. Then the King caused Articles on his part to be drawne, and published in this manner following.

*Here I the said Nabob, Vice-King and Governor of the Countrey of Woodia (10) under the great and mighty Prince Pe Desha Shassallem, (11) doe give and grant free Licence to the afore-said Ralph Cartwright Merchant, to trade, buy, sell, export and transport by Shipping, either off or upon the shore, not paying any Junkeon (12) or Custome, nor any under me to cause them to pay any: Likewise, that if they doe convey Goods by shore between [20] Factory and Factory, or any other place for their better advantage of gaine within these his Dominions, I straitly charge and command that no Governor, Custome-gatherer, or other Officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any Junken or Customes; but shall suffer them to passe free, without let, hinderance, molestation, or interruption of stayage, but shall (I say) helpe and further them in anything that shall be the furtherance of their businesse. Moreover, I doe grant to the English Merchants to take ground, and to build Houses fitting for their Employments, and where they shall see convenient for their best utility and profits, without let or hinderance of any of my loving Subjects.*

*And further I doe give and grant to the English Merchants free Licence, to build Shipping, small or great, or any other Vessell which they shall thinke best and fittest for their occasions and uses; they paying no more than the Custome of the Countrey to the Workmen; and likewise to repaire shipping if any such occasion be to require it.*

*Likewise I the Nabob doe command, that on Governour of Officer whatsoever under me, shall doe the English any wrong, or cause any to be done unto them, as they shall answer it at their perills, wheresoever they are resident: Neither shall any wrong be done to any servant of theirs, that doth belong unto them.*

*And againe, if any controversie should be betwixt the English, and the people of the Countrey, if the matter be of any moment, then the said Cause shall be brought before me the Nabob at the Court at Malcandy, and at the*

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(10) Odiya, Orissa.

(11) Padshah Shah Jahan, (1628-1658).

(12) Tamil *chungam*, customs.

*Derbar I will decide the matter, because the English may have no wrong, (behaving themselves as Merchants ought to doe.)*

[21] This Licence formed and given at the Royall Court of *Malcandy*, the third day of *May* 1633, but not sealed till the fifth day of *May* following at night.

The fourth day of *May* the King sent a great Banquet to the House of *Marsymoineine*, to our Merchants; and there came to this Feast the great man that did speake on the *Nockado's* side against us, at the *Darbar*, about the *Frigget* aforesaid: He brought with him to our Merchant for a present a Bale of Sugar, a Bottle of Wine, and some sweet meates; saying, he was sorry for the things before done and past, but if any thing lay in him to doe the Company and him any good, he and they should be sure of it. This man was Governour of a Towne called *Bollasarye* (13), a Sea Towne where shipping was built; (as is afore said) his name was *Mercossom* (14), and understanding that the Merchant was minded to travaile that way, hee promised him to doe him all the courtesies that could be.

The fifth day of *May* in the afternoone we were before the King againe at the *Darbar*, at our comming he called for our *Perwan* (which was our Warrant or Licence) and then he added to it the free leave of coyning of Monies, and sealed it with his owne Signet himselfe, and so all things was strongly confirm'd and ratified for our free trade in his Territories and Dominions.

The sixth day of *May* the King made a great Feast at the Court where were assembled the most and chieftest of all his Nobles and Governors that were under his command, and being set, he sent the Lord *Comptroller* of his house for the English Merchant Master *Ralph Cartwright* to come unto him, who [22] came with all speede, and when he was in the presence of the King, he caused him to sit downe by him, and take part of the Feast, (for the King was exceeding merry and pleasant) then the King caused a Vest or Robe to be brought, and with his own hands did put it upon our Merchant; and thus was he invested and entertained in the presence of this Royall, Noble, and great Assembly.

This day the King was in Magnificent State and Majesty, on rich *Persian* Carpets: (as is before mentioned) But over this great Company was a large Canopy of branched Velvet of foure colours, and in the seames betweene the joynings of it was yellow *Taffata*, which hung downe like unto the Vallence of a bed, it was 80 foote in length, and 40 foote in bredth, and it was upheld with foure small Pillars, overlayd with Silver, whose height was twelve foote, and in thicknesse one foote. Here we staid till about the houre of five in the afternoone, and then we tooke our leaves of the King, and the rest, and departed to *Coteke* to the house of *Mersymoineine*.

(13) Balasore. On a later page Bruton gives an account of the establishment of an English factory there by *Ralph Cartwright* in 1633.

(14) *Mir Kasim*.

Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that hapned at the Court of *Malcandy*, but although the Palace of the *Nabob* be so large in extent, and so magnificent in Structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in Tents with his most trusty servants and Guards about him, for it is an abomination to the *Moguls* (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the rooffe of a house that another man hath builded for his owne honour. And therefore hee was building a Palace, which he purpos'd should be a Fabricke of a Rest, [23] and future Remembrance of his renowne: He likewise keepeth three hundred Women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath.

The seventh day of *May* we went up and downe in the Towne of *Coteke*; it is very populous of people, and hath daily a great Market in it of all sorts of necessities which the Countrey affordeth, it is seven Miles in compasse, and hath but two great Gates belonging to it; it is three Miles between the one Gate and the other.

Upon the eighth day of *May* we went to the Court at *Malcandy* againe to desire of the King a Warrant, or free *Passe*, for safe convoy of Letters, or any other such occasion through his Countries.

Here we found his Majesty sitting in the outward Palace of the Court on the Pavement, by the Tanke before named, with a very faire Canopy over him, made of *Damaske*, and upheld by the foure small Pillars overlayd with Silver, with his Nobles by him for this effect and purpose following.

He was by the great *Mogul* commanded to wage Warre with all expedition against the King *Culcandouch*, (a great Prince neighbouring upon his Confines) which had wrongly with hostility entered on the Southwest part of his Countrey, and had made some spoyle and havock on the same. The King, I say, had here called all his Commanders, Leaders, and Captaines together, giving them a great charge concerning the good usage of his men, and their best endeavours in the management and performance of their services in those Warres. Hee likewise gave gifts to the Leaders, and money to the Souldiers to encourage them. The Army consisted of 30,000 men, which was 10,000 horse, and 20,000 foote, armed for the most part with Bowes and Arrowes; and some againe with Darts, like our Javelins, but farre more sharpe; and some againe with a kind of Falchon, Semiter, or like a bended sword by their side: some of which weapons have cut in sunder two malefactors, which have beene condemned to dye, being bound backe to backe, at one blow given backwards by the Executioner. But our Commission being granted, and our businesse ended finally, our Merchant (reverently) tooke his leave of the King, and the King (with his Nobles) did the same to him, wishing him all good successe in his affaires in his Countrey; and so we departed.

The ninth of *May* we gathered together all our things, and at night wee departed from *Coteke*.

The tenth, at the houre of two in the afternoone, we came to the Towne of *Harharra-poore*, and halted in the house of our Interpreter.

The eleventh day wee went to the Governour of the Towne, and shewed him our *Fermand*, or Commission from the King; the Governour made a great *Salame*, or courtsie in reverence unto it, and promised his best assistance and helpe in any thing that he could doe, and there the said Governour had a small Present given to him.

The twelfth day of *May* Master *Thomas Colley* came to us at *Harharra-poore*, and the rest of the *Englishmen* with him, with all the goods; then wee hired a house for the present, till such times as ours might be builded, for our further occasions to the Companies use.

[25] This Towne of *Harharra-poore* is very full of people, and it is in bounds sixe or seven Miles in compasse; there are many Merchants in it, and great plenty of all things, here is also cloth of all sorts great store, for there doth belong to this Towne at the least 3,000 Weavers that are house keepers, besides all other that doe worke, being bound or hired.

The foureteenth day the two Merchants went abroad, and found out a plat of ground fitting to build upon; then they layd the Kings *Deroy* (15) on it, and seiz'd upon it for the Companies use, and there was no man that did, or durst gaine-say them for doing the same.

The fifteenth day they hired workmen and labourers to measure the Ground, and to square out the foundation of the House, and likewise for the Wall, which was one hundred Conets (16) square, which is fifty yards, every Conet being halfe a yard, or a foote and halfe: and it behoved us to make haste, for the time of the great Raines was at hand.

The sixteenth day they laid the foundation of the Walls, being nine foote thicke, much haste was made, and many workmen about it; but this our first worke was but labour lost and cast away, for it came to nothing.

For on the eighteenth day the Raines began with such force and violence, that it beate downe all our Worke to the ground, and wash'd it away, as if there had not beene any thing done; this Storme continued without ceasing, (day and night) more or lesse three weekes compleat.

[26] The sixteenth day of *June* Master *Ralph Cartwright* tooke his journey for *Ballazary*, and two *English* men with him, who were *Edward Peteford*, and *William Withal*, and from thence he was minded to travaile further into the Countrey of *Bengalla*; and the eighth day of *July* following wee received a Letter from Master *Cartwright*, concerning his proceedings and troublesome passage; for he found not the Countrey according as was reported, by reason of the time of the great Raines that fell, yet he was safely arived in *Pipely*.

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(15) Telugu, *dora*, Tamil, *durai*, master, and so "a prohibition in the King's name."

(16) *Covid*, Portuguese *covado* or cubit.

The three and twentieth day of *July* in the Morning, we had newes that there was an English Ship arived at *Hassarpoore*, and had shot of three pieces of Ordnance, and stayed all night, and the next day in the morning, she having not a Boat to come from her, she weighed Anchor, and set saile for *Ballazary*.

The 25 of August, in the morning, Master *Thomas Colley* dyed of a violent Fever at *Harharapoore*.

The seventh day of *September* I received Letters from Master *Cartwright* from *Ballazary*, and withall he sent me the name of the Ship, to wit, the good Ship *Swan*, and Master *Edward Austin* (or *Ostin*) commander.

The nineteenth day of *September* there came two Merchants from *Ballazary* to *Harharapoore*, the one of them his name was Master *Robert Littler*, the other Master *John Powlle*, Purser of the Ship *Swan*.

The fourth day of *October* our Merchant Master *Robert Littler*, tooke a journey for *Jaggernat*, and he returned the sixteenth day to the Factory at *Harharapoore*.

#### [27] A BRIEF RELATION OF THE GREAT CITY OF JAGGARNAT.

The fifth day of *November* I was sent about the Companies business to the great City of *Jaggarnat*, and I travailed this day to a Towne called *Madew*, and I lodged all night in a *Pagod*, or *Pogoda*.

The sixth day I *William Bruton* travailed eight Course, which is 32 Miles *English*, and came to a Towne named *Amudpoore*, where I found together, of men, women, and children, more than 3,000; and all of them were Travellers and Raungers of the Countrey, having no residence, but are called *Ashmen*; (because they doe cast ashes upon themselves) also they are called *Fuckeires*, which are Religious names given to them for their supposed holinesse, but indeed they are very Rogues, such as our Gipsies be here in *England*, when they see their time and opportunity to put Rogery and Villany in practice; at this Towne I made no great stay, for I had a good charge about mee of the Companies.

The seventh day of *November* in the Morning about two of the Clocke, I hasted from *Amudpoore*, over a passage, and so for *Jaggarnat*, which was tenne Course betweene, that is forty Miles *English*, so about the houre of foure in the after—[28] noone, I drew neare to this great City of *Jaggarnat* to which I passed over a great stone Causy, on either side whereof was a very goodly Tanke to wash in; this Causy was about halfe a mile in length; then as I came to the West end of the City, I entered into [29] a very faire place for Scituation, furnished with exceeding store of pleasant Trees and Groves, and on either side of the way Tankes of Water and Pagodoes in the midst of them. From thence I passed up into the High-streete, where I was entertatined by a *Brammine*, (which is one of their Religious men, or Idolatrous Priests) but let his Religion be what it would, into his House I went, and there I lodged all the time of my stay there.



The Eighth day of *November*, in the Morning, after I had gone about the affaires that I was sent to doe, I went to view the City in some part, but especially that mighty *Pagodo* or *Pagod*, the Mirrour of all wickedness and Idolatry: Unto this *Pagod*, or house of Sathan (as it may rightly be called) doe belong 9,000 Brammines or Priests, which do dayly offer Sacrifices unto their great God *Jagarnat*, from which Idoll the City is so called; and when he is but named, then all the people in the Towne and Countrey doe bow and bend their knees to the ground, as the *Moabites* did to their Idoll *Baal-Peor*: Here they do also offer their children to this Idoll, and make them to passe through the Fire; and also they have an abhominable custome to cause or make them passe through the Water as Sacrifices unto the said ungodly God.

This Idoll is in the shape like a great Serpent, with seven Heads, (and on the cheekes of each Head it hath the forme of a Wing upon each cheek, which wings doe open and shut, and flappe, as it is carried in a stately Chariot, and the Idoll in the midd't of it: and one of the *Moguls* sitting behinde it in the Chariot upon a convenient place with a Canopy, to keepe the Sunne from injuring of it (17).

[30] When I (with horreur) beheld these strange things, I called to mind the 13. Chap of the *Revel.* and 1. Verse, and likewise the 16 and 17. Verses of the said Chapter, in which places there is a Beast, and such Idolatrous worship mentioned, and those sayings in that Text are herein truly accomplished in the 16. Verse: for the *Brammines* are all marked in the fore-head, and likewise all that come to worship the Idoll, are marked also in their fore-heads; but those that doe buy and sell, are all marked in the left shoulder; and all such as doe dare or presume to buy and sell, (not being marked) are most severely and grievously punished.

They have builded a great Chariot that goeth on 16. Wheels of a side, and every Wheele is five fote in height, and the Chariot it selfe is about Thirty foot high. In this Chariot (on their great Festivall dayes at night) they doe place their wicked God *Jagarnat*, and all *Brammines* (being in number 9,000) doe then attend this great Idoll, besides of *Ashmen* and *Fuckeirs* some Thousands (or more than a good many), The Chariot is most richly adorned with most rich and costly Ornaments, and the afore-said wheeles are placed very compleat in a round Circuite so Artificially, that every wheele doth doe his proper office without any impediment: For the Chariot is aloft, and in the

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(17) There are, in fact, three principal images in the temple, which represent Jagannath (the "Lord of the World" a manifestation of Vishnu) and his brother and sister, Balabhadra and Subhadra. Bruton's description of "This Idoll" must be taken with reserve. According to Baboo Brij Kishore Ghose's History of Pooree, the images are "bulky, hideous, wooden busts, fashioned in a curious resemblance of the human head resting on a sort of pedestal. They are painted white, black, and yellow respectively: their faces are exceedingly large, and their bodies are decorated with a dress of different coloured cloth." Jagannath and Balabhadra "have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears," which may account for Bruton's "Wing upon each cheek." The sister is, however, "entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form."

Center betwixt the Wheelles; they have also more than 2,000 Lights with them: And this Chariot with the Idoll is also drawne with the greatest and best men of the Towne, and they are so eager and greedy to draw it, that whosoever by shouldering, crowding, shoving, heaving, thrusting, or any violent way can but come to lay a hand upon the Ropes, they thinke themselves blessed and happy. And when[31] it is going along the City, there are many that will offer themselves a Sacrifice to this Idoll, and desperately lye downe on the ground, that the Chariot-wheelles may runne over them, whereby they are killed outright; some get broken armes, some broken legges, so that many of them are so destroyed, and by this meanes they thinke to merit Heaven. (18).

There is also another Chariot which hath but 12 wheelles, and that is for an Idoll or a Devill of an inferiour ranke, or lower degree; and hee doth not goe abroad or in progresse, but when the *Brammines* doe please. This *Pagodo* is scituated by the Sea-side, and is to be seen into the Sea at the least 10 or 12 Leagues; (for the Ayre and Sky is cleare and pure in those parts, that it may be seene farre). It is inclosed with a Wall of Stone, much about 22 foot in height, and the inclosure is foure-square, and every square is 150 Geometricall paces; so the foure squares in the Totall are 600 paces or yards about: it standeth due East, West, North, and South, and every square hath a great gate for the entrance into it, but the South and West-gates are barr'd up till the Festival times, and none commonly used but the North and East-gates, but especially the North-gate; for it hath all its prospect into the high or chiefe street of this City.

Now in some other parts of this Countrey the people doe adore and worship other creatures for their Gods: some worship the Celestiall, as the Sunne, Moone, and Starres: some againe Terrestriall, and they of the Mountains, Vallies, and Woods: some Aquaticall, and those of the Seas, Rivers, and Fountaines: some running after a beast like an Oxe, the Dog, and the Cat; some after the Hawke, some after [32] the sheepe, and some so foolish, that they doted upon the very Hearbs and Flowers in their Gardens. For indeed they have very rare Flowers for colour, such as I never saw in *England*, or elsewhere. Some of this Nation have erected to themselves a God, in the likenesse of *Jupiter*, and doe chaine him by the legge in their *Pagod*, to the intent that hee might not leave them, nor forsake them; and keepe continuall watch and Guard night and day, lest any of their Enemies should come and

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(18) Similar accounts of self-immolation are given by Bernier (1607) and Alexander Hamilton (1727): but, says Mr. O'Malley in the Puri District Gazetteer (1908, p. 109): "This fellacy was finally exposed by Sir William Hunter, who carefully examined the whole evidence on the subject, from 1580, when Abul Fazl wrote [and was silent on the matter], through a long series of travellers, down to the police reports of 1870 and came to the conclusion that the deaths at the Car Festival were almost always accidental." The festival (Rath jatra), which commemorates the journey of Sri Krishna from Gokul to Mathura, takes place every year in June or July. The car of Jagannath is supported on sixteen wheels, as Bruton says: those of Balabhadra and Subhadra are smaller. It is to be observed that the Tooth Festival of Buddha in Japan and Ceylon is also celebrated with three cars.

intice him away by bribery, and so to prevaile with him to come forth of it, and by that meanes their City come to ruine and destruction: so much for their Idolatry.

This City of *Bengalla* is very great and populous, it hath many Merchants in it, and yeeldeth very rich commodities, as good Cloath in abundance, Sugars, Silkes, Taffataes, Stuffles, Waxe, Gumlacke, Butter, Oyle, Rice, and Wheate, with many other good commodities vendable. It is likewise famous for its multitude of *Rhinoceroes*; it hath a Beast much like unto a *Unicorne*, and because it hath but one Horne, some doe beleve and take it for the Unicorne Horne for the vertue it hath in it. This City was once free from Taxations, till *Ekebar* (19) the great *Mogull* caused it to be united to his Empire. The chiefest Cities which joine nearest to it, are *Catigan* and *Satagan* (20) on the Bankes of *Ganges* Eastward: It was once the Seate of the great *Bengalian* King *Malchiram*, as Mr. *Purchase* relates in his Pilgrimage. This City lyes Westward toward *Pega*, and neere to *Cosmin* and *Aracam*, (21) two famous Cities for Traffic and Scituation; lying upon the River, and within some few Leagues of the Gulfe call'd the *Bengallian* gulfe, which is a very dange—[33] rous one; for at some certaine times of the yeere it is very hazardable for Vessells to passe without shipwrack: There be many other Lakes and Rivers which I could mention, but for Brevity sake I omit them. But there is no strong dringe suffered to be dranke within the City, except a Stranger doe bring it in privately, and so it is not knowne: and thus much shall suffice for the impious Religion of *Jaggarnat*, and the stately Court of *Malcandy*.

The most of these people have no Learning, but doe all things by memory: They weare commonly long haire, and are very strict in their time of Fasting; but afterwards, when the Ceremony is over, then they freely commit all kind of wickednesse againe. In some places they have their Edicts or Lawes written, and in other places unwritten: They know not what belongs to Bonds or Bills, and they lend without Witnesses, or any sealing of Writings, even upon their owne Words: And hee that is found to deny his promise hath the top of his Fingers cut off. Their habit is various and different; some of them doe goe in Linnen or Woollen; some are cloathed with Beasts skins, or Birds feathers; others goe naked, and doe cover only their secret parts: Their Bodies are for the most part blacke, which is not accidentall, but naturally arising from the quality of the seed they are begotten: Most of them are of a large stature; they have many Wives which they purchase and buy of their Parents: some they keepe to be theier Vassals to do their drudgery: others, which are handsomer, for issue sake and pleasure.

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(19) *Akbar*. Orissa became a province of the Empire in 1578.

(20) *Catigan*=Chittagong: the Porto Grande of the Portuguese. *Satagan* or *Satigam*=Satgaon, was the Porto Piqueno. It was situated on the right bank of the river Hooghly, thirty miles above Calcutta, at the confluence of the Saraswati channel. The site is now marked by a few huts and a mosque.

(21) *Cosmin*=the modern Bassein, in the delta of the Irrawaddy, of which the classical name was *Kusima*. *Aracam*: the old town which went by this name was at the mouth of the Arakan river: *Akyab* was not founded until 1825. The geography is a trifle confused.

Here are greater store of Beasts than in any other part of the *Indies*: as Oxen, Camells, Lyons, Dogges, [34] Elephants: they have Dogges which are as fierce as Lyons, with which they usually hunt and pursue those wild beasts, as we doe our Bucks, for their delight and pleasure. They ride on goodly Horses bootied and spurr'd; so likewise doe their Women.

These people are notable ingenious men; let it be in what Art or Science soever, and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them: for the most part of them hate idlenesse, and those that doe not study in some Art or other, are counted droanes, and stand for Cyphers, and dead men amongst the best and chiefest sort of people: They have a Custome, that alwayes before dinner they doe call their Children and young people in their houses together, and doe examine how they had spent their time from the Sunne-rising, and if they could not give a good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the Table; and so every day, and if they did not the next time improve themselves in some knowledge of laudable things, they are most severely punished and chastised.

These Barbarous and Idolatrous people, although they be so ignorant in the true worship of God, cannot endure a perjured person, nor a common swearer, nor a common drunkard, but will punish them very severely by stripes or else by forfeiture of their Commodities: A perjured person, say they, is an arch enemy to their God and thcm: and it is so hatefull, that if it be committed by their Father, Brother, or Kindred, they doe presently condemne him, according to the nature of the offence: for though they love the perjury, by reason of the benefit that commeth unto them by it, yet they hate the person even to death: for, say they, hee [35] which was sometimes perjured in their behalfe, may undo what he hath done, and speake the truth when time serves: They instance a story of *Soleman* the great Turke, who loathed and abhorred the Traitor that betrayed Rhodes unto him, and instead of his daughter, whom he expected to be given him in Marriage for a reward, he caused him to be flayed and salted, and told him in derision, that it was not fit for a Christian to marry with a Turke, unlesse he put off his old skin: likewise they instance *Charles* the fourth, who rewarded the souldiers (that betrayed their Lord and Master *Krantius*) with counterfeit coyne; and being desired to deliver them current money, answered, that counterfeit Coyne was the proper wages for counterfeit service: Thus a lyar or perjured person amongst these Idolatrous people they will not beleewe, though he had spoken or sworne the truth: for he that hath beene once false, is ever to be suspected in the same kinds of falshood: wherefore just and upright dealing is aptly compared to a glasse, which being once broken, can never be repaired; or to opportunity, which once omitted, can never be recovered. And so I conclude this relation, wishing all men to preferre knowledge and honesty before wealth and riches; the one soone fadeth, the other abideth for ever: for amongst all the goods of this life, onely wisdom is immortall.

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## Lord Hastings and the Monuments of Agra.

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*DELICTA MAIORUM IMMERITUS LUES,*

*ROMANE, DONEC TEMPLA REFECERIS.*

THE pilgrim at the threshold of the Taj Mahal, whose attention is focussed by the importunate sons of *Bakshish* on the elegant but incongruous "Lamp from Egypt : placed here by Lord Curzon," impressed as he has been at every step with evidences of the care for ancient monuments for which Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty is conspicuous, is apt too readily to assume that the Taj Mahal had been neglected from the downfall of the Mogul empire until the end of the nineteenth century. Lord Curzon himself, who claimed that with the conclusion of his measures "Agra will be given back to the world a pearl of great price" (1) speaks in disparaging terms of the work of his early predecessors. "From time to time a Governor-General in an excess of exceptional enlightenment or generosity spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Secandra" (2).

These words do less than justice to the interest shown by early British administrators in the preservation of the Taj Mahal when the heritage of Agra was first entrusted to their hands. The obligation was recognised and met at a time when India was still being fought for and won from anarchy, and any resources which could be spared from the struggle were jealously watched by the Directors of the Company. Lord Hastings was in fact, as the Minute on his inspection at Agra will show, the predecessor of Lord Curzon in outlining an archaeological policy for British India. It was in the years between, beginning with the acute retrenchments of Lord William Bentinck's regime, that Agra passed through darker days. It does not in any way detract from the value of Lord Curzon's achievement to assign to an earlier age of the British administration in India the credit due for appreciation of its responsibilities for the conservation of the Taj Mahal, and for taking the first steps towards the restoration of Agra to the world.

The Minute embodying Lord Hastings' views after his visit to Agra, which takes the form of a letter dated the 4th April 1815 from the Secretary to the Governor General to the Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered pro-

(1) Speech on the Ancient Monuments Bill 1904 : " Lord Curzon in India " Vol. I., p. 218.

(2) Speech at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900 : *Ib.* p. 206.

vinces, is printed in full below (3): but before proceeding to it a few words may be said as regards the arrangements made for the conservation of the Taj Mahal which preceded this visit.

The city of Agra with its environments became part of British India under the treaty of 1803 between Sir Arthur Wellesley and Dowlut Rao Scindia by which the latter ceded "to the Honourable Company and their allies in perpetual sovereignty all his forts rights and territories in the Doab or country situated between the Jamna and the Ganges" (4). Agra itself had actually been taken by Lord Lake after a short siege on the 18th October 1803 when the Fort with the Treasury and Arsenal and numerous cannon were surrendered by the Mahratta forces (5). The new territories, which were known as the Ceded and Conquered provinces, were administered after the resignation of Henry Wellesley early in 1803 as part of Bengal in direct subordination to the Supreme Government as regards political and military matters (6). Agra itself was still of military importance and in the early years following the treaty, the Taj Mahal appears to have been in charge of the Officer commanding at Agra to whom the Collector transferred the proceeds of collections levied by him for the maintenance and repair of the building. In the absence of any Civil Engineering Department work the Military Engineer at Agra would naturally be the only officer qualified to look after the structure.

The struggle with the Mahrattas had by no means ceased, but the tide of war had receded finally from the walls of Agra, and an early sign of the new and more settled order was the transfer of the Taj Mahal to the charge of a local Committee in 1808 (7). This Committee (which is clearly that referred to by Lord Curzon) comprised the Magistrate, the Collector and the Commanding Officer at Agra and was constituted "for the care and preservation of the celebrated building nominated the Taj Mahal." They were further directed to report on the arrangements proposed for its maintenance, the rules for visiting it, the establishment to be employed for the building and gardens, and the repairs required by the building, which were to be carried out by the Engineer Officer stationed at Agra.

A detailed survey of all the buildings at the Taj was made by Lt.-Col: A. Kyd, and his report dated the 8th November 1808 gives a full account of the condition of the buildings at that time. In the case of the Taj Mahal itself only surface damage had been done, and it was largely a matter of removing grass from the joints of the marble, restoring the marble pavement of the platform, and repairing the copper gilt ornament of the dome, of which part only was left. The enthusiastic engineer writes of "this splendid monument, which for magnificence and taste and costliness of materials far exceeds

(3) Printed through the courtesy and with the permission of the Government of Bengal.

(4) Aitchison, *Treaties and Sanads*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

(5) Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. III.

(6) Foster: *Guide to the India Office Records*: p. 52.

(7) Letter from the Secretary in the Judicial Dept. dated 9th May 1808.

anything of the same kind that is probably in the universe, the repairing and keeping in order of which will reflect such credit on the British Government through every part of Indoostan." The repairs, including those to the accessory buildings were estimated to cost Rs. 83,500 and were sanctioned in the same year by the Vice-President in Council. At the same time the Mausoleum of Akbar was placed in charge of the Taj Mahal Committee.

Work on the Taj seems to have gone on in leisurely fashion for six or seven years, new requirements being made from time to time, and sanction for expenditure of an additional sum of Rs. 19,648 was given in the year 1813. By the end of the year 1814 the total amount spent on the work amounted to Rs. 1,00,583—no mean sum at the exchange and values of the early nineteenth century.

The Committee, in forwarding in November 1811 a completion report up to this stage by Lieut: Taylor who had succeeded Col. Kyd, made further suggestions for the extension of the work: and it is at this point that there occurred the first formal inspection of the monuments of Agra by the Governor General. This visit which took place before April 1815 is the subject of the letter reproduced below. The letter is remarkable both as a statement of the fundamental principles of archaeological conservation, and for the freshness of interest with which Lord Hastings extends his survey to buildings in Agra such as the Pearl Mosque which had remained unnoticed in the earlier correspondence.

It is to be confessed, however, that Lord Hastings did not consider the moral obligation of Government to "preserve for after ages all objects of national pride which have fallen under its Guardianship in the same state of perfection in which the Government obtained them," as incompatible with the idea of removing the marble fittings of the royal baths from the Palace in the Fort. Mention is made in Bholanath Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo* (London, 1869: Vol. I p. 405) of "the remarkable bath of Shah Jehan, hollowed out of one single block of white marble, and measuring forty feet in diameter." This "artistic curiosity," says the author, was "no longer to be seen," when he visited Agra in 1860. It had "particularly attracted the notice of Lord Hastings, and he had caused it to be taken up for a present to George IV of England, then Prince Regent." The idea of removing it was, however, abandoned as "it was found to make a too heavy freight for a native craft," and its ultimate fate is unknown.

Modest as Lord Hastings' actual proposals for the restoration of certain monuments were, they must have received a definite check from the orders communicated by the Court of Directors on the expenditure on the Taj Mahal which reached India a few months later. Remote from the spell of the Mogul monuments, and intent on the Company's profits, they write in June 1815: "We have been concerned to find that the actual expense of repairing this edifice has so far exceeded the estimate made by Col. Kyd, and we

take this opportunity of positively restricting you to the disbursements which you have already incurred on this account." They further revert to the idea of establishing a repair fund from a tax to be levied on visitors which had been considered and dropped by the Taj Mahal Committee.

Scant praise, and faint comprehension of the responsibilities incumbent on the custodians of the Taj Mahal. But it is to be remembered that these words were written after many years of costly warfare in India, and in the crisis of the last wars with the French on the Continent—nine days in fact before the battle of Waterloo. We too have seen expenditure on the treasures of the past necessarily cut down under the strain of war, and need not condemn too loudly the parsimony of the Company at this juncture while appreciating the restrained but noble archaeological ideals of Lord Hastings (8).

C. W. G.

\* \* \* \*

To

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE BT.

and

JOHN DEANE ESQUIRE

*Commissioners for the Ceded and  
Conquered Provinces—*

Gentlemen,

I am directed by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to acquaint you that the Hon'ble the Vice-President-in-Council has communicated to His Lordship the Correspondence relating to the repairs of the Taje mehl by Lieutenant Taylor; and has requested His Lordship to determine on the Occasion of his visit to the City of Agra, what further repairs it would be advisable to undertake either of this, or of other buildings, and what additional Expense would be necessary to complete them.

2. His Lordship having accordingly inspected the buildings in question, attended by the Local Agents, and having with the aid of their Suggestions, and from personal observation formed a judgment of the several further repairs he conceived it to be wished that Government should undertake, His Lordship left a memorandum of them with the Local Agents, directing that they should in Concert with Captain Phipps the Barrack master, form an Estimate of the Expense at which they could severally be conducted.

3. In this memorandum His Lordship did not confine himself to the buildings immediately connected with the Taje mehl, as he found other splendid monuments of the magnificence of former times, which he conceived to be also entitled to an effort for their preservation. Indeed His Lordship

(8) The writer desires to acknowledge the assistance given by Baboo Suresh Chandra Ray, of the Bengal Record Room establishment, in collecting facts and papers.



is of opinion that whenever the object can be accomplished by an Expenditure at all within reasonable bounds, it is a duty incumbent upon all Governments to see, that buildings which are objects of national pride and grandeur should not suffer deterioration in their hands beyond what the lapse of ages may render unavoidable.

4. His Lordship however remarks that these Sentiments are Solely applicable to public buildings of so high an order as to be regarded as models of perfection in their several stiles. The view could not be permitted to Extend to buildings of a Class in which the nation would take no concern; neither can His Lordship conceive it to be at all incumbent on a Government to interest itself in behalf of those which are entirely delapidated or which are incapable of repair, without inordinate Expense. The moral obligation on Government rests in it's preserving for after Ages all objects of national pride, which have fallen under it's Guardianship, in the same state of perfection in which the Government obtained them.

5. Impressed with these sentiments, His Lordship's attention has restricted itself to the Taje, which the munificence of our Government have already almost restored to it's Original perfection; to the Motee Musgid which needs but the most trifling repairs to place it in an equal state of perfection; to the Tomb of Akbar at Secundra; and to the Gateway of Futtepoore Sickree leading to the Tomb of Sulleem Chishtee. These two last buildings exhibit such magnificence in their design and Construction, that His Lordship was desirous of Ascertaining whether in Conformity with the principles above laid down, it was advisable for Government to undertake the restoration of them.

6. The report and Estimate drawn up by the local Agents under His Lordship's Orders above alluded to, are now transmitted to your Board, in Order that you may issue the necessary Orders to the local Agents for conducting the repairs in the mode approved by His Lordship as hereafter specified.

7. With respect to the Taje, His Lordship has had no hesitation in adopting all the recommendations of the local Agents at the Expense Estimated for each, excepting only the proposed re-building of the two Cupolas at the Southern Angles of the Garden, Charged at 10,000 Rupees the incurring of which does not appear to be necessary towards Completing the beauty and uniformity of the Garden; His Lordship proposes that this part of the work should not be executed at all events for the present.

8. With respect to the Motee Musgid, the estimate for it's Complete repair is only Rupees 3,960; and as the beauty of this building (which forms a Court of entire white marble) is particularly Chaste, His Lordship conceives there can be no hesitation in authorizing it.

9. The sum of 20,000 Rupees has been estimated as necessary to save the Tomb of Akber from further delapidation, tho' far short of what would be required for the restoration of it to it's original state; His Lordship would not therefore have felt disposed to authorize eventually the employment of so

Considerable a sum in effecting only partial repairs, were he not actuated by the Consideration, that Our Government is called upon to make some sacrifices for the preservation of this Grand Mausoleum, because it owes it's present condition in a great measure to it's having so long furnished quarters to an European Regiment of Dragoons. His Lordship consequently will authorize at a convenient opportunity hereafter, the appropriation of a Sum not Exceeding that abovementioned, to the Object of Securing the building from further delapidation; but he leaves it to the Board and their local Agents to determine, in what particular mode the money should be applied. To the Local Agents His Lordship pointed out on the spot what departure from the principle of restoring the original Ornaments might be allowed, so as to lighten the Expense without corrupting the peculiar plan and system of Architecture. No step that could be taken by Government it is conceived will be felt more warmly by the Natives than this attention to the Tomb of Akber.

10. His Lordship has been given to understand that there are very Considerable endowments to the shrine of Sulcem Chishtee which are fully adequate to the maintenance of the building in good repair; the pecuniary aid of Government is therefore not called for; but His Lordship confidently trusts that the Local Agents will see that the above emoluments are not misapplied.

11. The Works above authorized may be commenced upon by Captain Phipps; but His Lordship saw in the present state of the Taje such just grounds of satisfaction at the mode in which Lieutenant Taylor has conducted the repairs entrusted to His Superintendence that he considers it to be due to that Officer on his return to Agra for Government to continue to avail themselves of his Services in this particular department, wherein he has shewn so much zeal science and taste.

Futteh Ghur,  
the 4th April, 1815.

I have the honor to be, etc.,  
(Signed) C. M. RICKETTS.  
Secy. to the Gov.-General.

## An Old Description of the Monghyr Fort.

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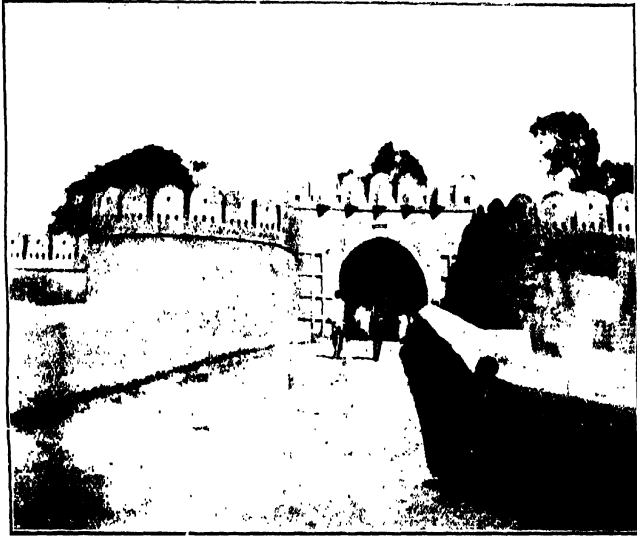
FROM time to time references to sites in the Monghyr Fort and its vicinity have appeared in the pages of *Bengal, Past & Present*. Readers of the journal may be interested to have an account of the fort as it was about 250 years ago, recorded by a Dutchman who suffered imprisonment there for seven weeks in the year 1670. The interior was very different from what it was in 1767, when Captain Lewis Felix DeGloss (as he spelt his name) made a survey which probably formed the basis of the plan published by Rennell in his *Bengal Atlas*, and, perhaps needless to add, it was still more unlike what it is at the present day.

Built at the extremity of the most northerly spur of the triangular mass of hills, known as the Kharagpur Hills, which form an impressive background to the south, with the broad Ganges bathing the feet of its picturesque, battlemented ramparts, mellowed by age and decay, and crowned with fine old buildings and shrines, the fort with its surrounding landscape has ever fascinated the traveller passing up or down the river, or claimed a tribute from the artist's brush. Few sites, if any, along the sacred river, moreover, can claim a greater antiquity. Standing on the top of the Karnachaura hillock (the name of which I prefer to associate with the old king of Anga of Mahabharata days, and not with the more recent legend) one may picture the ancient Rishis performing their *homa* sacrifice by the sacred river in peaceful seclusion, and then, in more stirring times, when the warring Pandavas marched east, see Bhima approach the stronghold, to slay "the mighty king who dwelt in Modagiri" (1). Many another struggle was to follow for the possession of this important point; and much water—and silt—had flowed past before we see the Nawab Qasim Ali Khan issuing from the fort along the Calcutta road, in December, 1762, to meet Henry Vansittart, and conduct him to Gurgin Khan's splendid mansion on the Pir Pahar hill, set apart for his entertainment, or Mrs. Hastings fretting among her companions in the rains of 1781, in General Goddard's (Karnachaura) house, while the great proconsul proceeded up the river to his perilous adventure at Benares.

Beneath the fort itself there is a substratum of solid rock, that outcrops here and there, prominently in the Karnachaura eminence, at the Kashtharani Ghat, and in the rocky islets (Manpatthar) (2) in the bed of the river to the

(1) Mahabharata, ii, 30.

(2) Now known to the local Europeans as the Beacon Rocks, owing to a light set up there to guide shipping after dark.



THE GATE OF MONGHYR FORT  
(Photograph by A. F. de Cosson.)



MONGHYR FORT : WESTERN SIDE : FROM THE S. W. CORNER BASTION TO  
THE KASHTARANI GHAT PROMONTORY : LOOKING N. N. E.  
(Photograph by C. E. A. W. Oldham.)



west of the fort. It is this that has preserved the site from erosion; and the rock being a projecting spur from the hills to the south, the Ganges has been prevented from cutting a passage through behind the fort, and must always wash the toe of the ridge. The main highway from west to east along the Ganges valley had from distant ages passed round this corner between the hills and the river, rendering the site one of great strategic importance, just as the still narrower defile at Taliagarhi, 80 miles further east, became for similar reasons regarded as the "Gate of Bengal" *par excellence*. We have seen how the place was famous even in Mahabharata times. Later on we have occasional references to it in inscriptions. We know that there was a fort there in Pala days. But it is not till we come down to the time of the early Muhammadan historians that much definite information can be gathered about the fort. We are told that it was repaired by Prince Danyal, one of the sons of Husain Shah, king of Bengal, at the end of the 15th century, who built the vault over the grave of Shah Nafa, the Muhammadan patron saint of the place. It was the scene of more than one struggle in the early years of the 16th. century. Sher Khan seems to have occupied it in 1535. and it is quite possible that this great fort-builder had a hand in modelling the fortifications on the lines maintained afterwards. It comes into prominence again in Akbar's reign, during the Afghan rebellion, when Raja Todar Mal occupied the place, and no doubt strengthened the fortifications, as we are told that he constructed additional lines of entrenchment extending to the hills, remains of which may still be traced to the south of the town between Safiabadd and Jamalpur. The fort of Monghyr played an important part in 1657-59, during the struggles between the sons of Shah Jahan. Sultan Muhammad Shuja, the second son of the emperor, was Governor of Bengal, which then included Monghyr. It was the fort of Monghyr that caused Sulaiman to halt in his pursuit of Shuja after his first bid for the imperial throne; and it was the fort of Monghyr that held up Mir Jumla and Prince Muhammad when following Shuja after his defeat by his brother Aurangzeb at Khajwa. Shuja's capital was Rajmahal, but attracted by the beauty of the site, he built himself a delightful palace at the north-west corner of the Monghyr fort, extending for a considerable distance along its western edge, and immediately overlooking the Ganges. He too repaired the fortifications, as well as the lines some 3 or 4 miles to the south, but had to abandon the position when circumvented by Mir Jumla, who marched round by the south of the Kharagpur hills, and subsequently seized the fort. This was in 1659. [It was only eleven years later that Nicolaas de Graaf, our Dutch author, was incarcerated there.]

We next hear of a struggle for the possession of the fort in the time of the Nawab Alivardi Khan, when his Afghan general Mustafa Khan who had fought so gallantly for him against the Marhattas, suspecting the Nawab's

intentions towards him, revolted and marched away with his own troops towards Bihar, taking possession of Monghyr fort en route. By this time, according to the generally accurate author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, (2) the fortifications had not the reputation of being very solid or strong. One historian goes so far as to say that the fort had been "haunted by tigers" when, later on, the Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, contemplating a struggle with the English Company, made Monghyr his headquarters (1761-63), and had the fortifications repaired and strengthened, and a large arsenal established under the very competent supervision of Khoja Gregory, (4) better known perhaps as Gurgin Khan, then his general. It was stormed by the British forces under Major Thomas Adams early in October, 1763, in the course of his brilliant campaign of that year. Since then the possession of the fort has not been disputed by contending armies. It became the headquarters of the First Brigade of the army under Clive's re-organisation scheme of 1765, and subsequently one of the most popular of the "invalid stations," owing to the salubrity of the climate.

To be seen at its best, perhaps, Monghyr should be visited towards the latter half of the rainy season, when the Ganges is high, the moat filled with water, and all vegetation is pulsating with life. Let it be a clear evening, when the sun is setting in a blood-red sky behind the vast expanse of water to the west, where the swollen river spreads out across its broad bed—then some five miles wide—and surging over the almost submerged Manpatthar rocks, dashes against the Kashtharani promontory, round which it swirls and eddies with irresistible force. The dark rock, surmounted by temple buildings half hidden by over-spreading trees, stands out, sharp cut, against the sunset glow, while the billowing waters toss and seethe below: a picture of quiet strength contrasted with boisterous force, half-framed by the rugged mass of the Kharagpur hills, inky blue on the near left and toning down into deep purple and grey, as they fade from sight to dip beneath the valley of the Kiul in the west, while the rich green, now covering the level plain to the north of the river, stretches away to the right as far as the eye can reach. It is one of those sights, like a golden sunset on the snows of Janu and Kanchenjanga, that once seen can never fade from memory.

Nicolaas de Graaf, born at Egmond-aan-Zee on the west coast of Holland in "the beginning of the 17th. century," as the *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (5) tells us, became a surgeon in the service of the Dutch East India Company, which he appears to have entered in the year 1639. On retirement, after many years' work, he settled down in his native land, and wrote an account of his travels entitled "*Travels in Asia, &c.*," several editions of which seem to have been issued, the first apparently at Amsterdam in 1700. An edition in French was published at the same town in 1719; and it is this

(4) Son of Khalanthar Arratoon of Julfa, and brother of Khoja Petrus.

(5) 1862, Haarlem.



KASHTARANI PROMONTORY, MONGHYR -  
WHEN THE GANGES IS LOW : LOOKING W. S. W.  
( Photograph by C. E. A. W. Oldham.)





edition that has been followed in these notes. Here we are only concerned with Graaf's travels in India, between the years 1668 and 1671.

From the Dutch East Indies, Graaf sailed to Ceylon and Bengal, reaching Hugli in 1669. Next year he was ordered to go to Patna, to cure Director Jacob Sanderus, who had been ill for a long time, and was asked by the Director at Hugli and other officers to sketch the "castles, towns and palaces" of most importance that he passed on the way up: so he evidently had the reputation of being a draughtsman as well as a doctor.

"A boat," he writes, "was prepared for my journey, which travelled very fast under oars, and in which there was a tent or awning (*tente*) twelve oarsmen, two servants, a cook and an interpreter, and, for company, a young book-keeper named Corneille van Oosterhoff, about 18 years of age, who was to remain in Patna. There were also 12 boats which, after carrying saltpetre and opium to Hugli, had to go to Patna, and convey to Chapra some goods of the Company, with which they had been loaded." Starting on the 17th September, 1670, they went up the Bhagirathi to Kasimbazar, and thence on to Rajmahal, where Graaf sketched a plan of the palace of Shah Shuja and its surroundings. Monghyr was reached about the 8th or 9th October. "The beauty of its walls," he writes, "which are of white stone, its castles, its mosques and other buildings that can be seen from the river" aroused a desire in him and his fellow-traveller, to land and visit the place. What ensued had better be told in Graaf's own words.

"I went with my companion (i.e. Oosterhoff) who was somewhat unwell and two servants, to go round the moats of the ([fortified] town (*ville*) which is shaped rather like a bow, the Ganges representing the bow-string. I counted the steps I took from the river bank till we got back to the same place, after going right round, and I found the number to be about 12,500, which I took care to note down on my paper, as well as the number of gates, and bastions on the ramparts, with the distances from one to another. But whatever precautions I might take in doing this, I was followed, and arrested by the Hindu soldiers who kept guard at the chief gate on the land side; and our boat, which lay at some distance from the fort, was seized, and taken charge of by soldiers. We were taken before the Governor. His palace, which was not far from the gate just referred to, almost adjoined a tank, close by the principal mosque of the Muhammadans. This palace had 15 towers. The Governor, by name Mirza Muhammad, was a tall Muhammadan, stout, and with a look of determination. We found him in the midst of his counsellors, magnificently dressed, armed with a sword and a shield, and seated beneath a very beautiful canopy, upon very rich carpets. By his side he had two caskets (*boettes*), one for tobacco, and the other for betel. The Governor looked at us angrily, and ordered us to sit down beyond the carpets. After he had looked at us sufficiently, he said in a very rude tone:—'Of what nationality are you?' 'Where do you come from? Who has sent you here?'"

When these questions had been answered, the Governor asked why they had been walking round the fort, and taking observations of the gates and bastions, and making notes on a piece of paper, at the same time ordering Graaf to hand him the paper in question. The latter had secreted the paper on which he had recorded his observations, but handed up another piece on which he had made rough notes. They then took a compass and a small quadrant out of his pockets; but, not being able to understand what these could possibly be used for, returned them. Refused permission to go back to their boat, Graaf and his companion were then thrust into a "very striking" (*fort puante*) prison, "amongst rogues and thieves, and murderers who were chained by the neck."

Next day, the Council having again assembled towards midday, they were taken under a guard of soldiers, and further cross-questioned. The Governor asked them who the Dutch were, what country was called Holland, and who their king was. Having duly replied, Graaf again asked to be allowed to proceed to Patna, adding that his companion was dying owing to the stench in their "hole of a prison." The Governor's reply to this sally was:—"If you die in that hole, we shall fling you into the Ganges, and thus you will be carried back to Bengal, where you say you have come from. You will have to wait here till we write to the Mogul, and get his reply."

They were moved to another prison; but their servants were permitted to purchase such articles as they needed. Hundreds of people came to look at them each day, some showing feelings of pity, others treating them "like dogs or spies." Meanwhile they had written letters to the several Dutch factories for help; but afterwards they were not allowed to send any letters. Some days later, the Council having again met, Graaf was subjected to a very rigorous cross-examination. He was told that Monghyr was a "frontier town;" that no body was allowed to approach it, except to pass by the river—this was the Mogul's order; that he had committed a heinous offence; for a similar crime, a zamindar (*jimidear*?) had been tied to a plank, and sawn in two! The Governor added:—"You say you are Dutch. We do not know of the Dutch. You are crafty fellows, Portuguese scoundrels that Prince Sivaji, who has recently revolted at Surat, has sent to spy out the land and the forts, and attack us when an opportunity offers."

Graaf strenuously denied these accusations, pointing out that the Dutch were allies of the Mogul, and had actually assisted him with ships and munitions; but to no effect. He was threatened that if he did not confess his guilt he would be hung from, or tied to, a tree, and shot with arrows. After that unpleasant interview, Graaf says the populace howled at him, and even spat in his face. At length letters arrived from Bengal and from Chapra to the effect that the Governor of Bihar had been moved in his behalf. Four days later the Governor himself received a *parwana* from the "Grand Nadab de Patna" directing him to send Graaf and his companion immediately to Patna; but he gave no effect whatever to this order. On the

contrary, he wrote to the Governor of Bihar requesting that his action might be approved, and that he should be allowed to retain his prisoners till an answer came from the Emperor, to whom he had written.

However, after the arrival of this *parwana* from Patna the prisoners were treated far more leniently, and were permitted to go about as they liked, both inside and outside the fort; but they were always accompanied by a guard, and had to sleep in the prison at night. One of his servants having mentioned that Graaf was a surgeon, the Governor sent for him to cure his nephew. Unfortunately Graaf found that the disease (of the lungs) was incurable; and he said so.

Two days after this, we are told, orders came from the Court at Agra to the governors of all the places in the vicinity, to put them into a state of defence, and collect all necessary provisions. For this purpose some thousand rupees (not a very extravagant allotment) were sent to Monghyr.

On the 26th November the courier from Patna brought a further order from the "Grand Nadab," to release the two prisoners and despatch them at the earliest possible moment to Patna, failing which, he (the "Grand Nadab") would come himself and arrest the Governor of Monghyr, and take him to Patna, "to punish him as a rebel." This form of communication seems to have satisfied the Monghyr official, as Graaf and his companion were then set free, and next day sent on to Patna, "after seven weeks' imprisonment."

Graaf then gives a short description of Monghyr, which is quoted below in his own words:—

"The fortified town (*ville*) of Monghyr is, as I have said, on the Ganges, which washes its walls. It is somewhat rounded on the side that faces the open country. Its moats are broad and deep, but dry, except when the river is high, when they are full. It has four gates. The eastern gate is the principal one. On entering the fort from that side, two drawbridges have to be crossed, and then one passes through a wicket gate, beyond which there is a large square surrounded by walls, and then another gate. At the two sides of this latter gate there are two large stone carvings, representing elephants, with a man on each. These are intended merely for ornament. The southern and western gates are much the same, but that to the north is not so big. Inside the fort, near the north gate, is a small elevation, on which some trees, a Hindu temple (*pagode*), and some Muhammadan tombs are to be seen. Close by is a tank. Exactly in the middle of the fort, where several roads cross, is a very pretty octagonal market-place (*kettera*) surrounded by several fine houses which have small towers. All the roads lead from one gate to another, and cross at the market-place. There is a fine castle on the river side, where also stands the palace of the old king [apparently Shah Shujā is meant], his women's apartments, and several other buildings which produce a very good effect on that side. The place has been very much damaged by the war of 1657

"and that of 1658, and there are still several buildings in ruins. The magistrates and principal inhabitants are Muhammadans, and the rest Hindus. The garrison consists of 500 infantry, mostly Hindu, and 100 Muhammadan cavalry. The language spoken is *haut More* (6), but the Persian character is used. The inhabitants, both men and women, are mostly engaged in trade and different kinds of handicrafts. The dwellings of the Hindus, who sell all sorts of merchandise and manufactured articles, are outside the fort. In front of the eastern gate, that is outside the fort, is the main guard and the principal bazar, where all kinds of food-stuffs, meat, fowl, fish and fruit, are sold very cheap."

It will be observed that there are several very interesting details given in Graaf's account. For instance, the description of how a European Company's officer travelled up the river in those days in a boat propelled by oars, with an awning spread as a protection against sun and rain, intended apparently as a substitute for the cabin that a larger boat would probably have contained. Then the account of how the governor Mirza Muhammad, who was possibly also the chief administrative officer (or *faujdar*, as he would be called at that time) of the division, *sarkar* Monghyr, as well as commandant of the fort, held court and disposed of his official functions, with the assistance of counsellors, gives us a valuable insight into the mufassal administration, so rarely described by travellers. Again, the manner in which the local governor treated the provincial governor's first order to send his prisoners up to Patna, if it does not disclose the independence with which local officials acted on many occasions (of which we have abundant testimony from other sources), at least shows the weakness of the links in the chain of administrative control even in the earlier years of Aurangzeb's rule. From Graaf's account it would also appear as if the Muhammadans retained the interior of the fort more or less in their own hands, as might perhaps be expected, the only Hindu building within the ramparts specifically mentioned being the temple on top of the Karnachaura hillock.

The complete ignorance of the governor and his counsellors on the subject of Holland and the Dutch is very remarkable, and would lead us to conclude that this local official's intelligence department was not very efficient, as we know from Graaf's own narrative that the Dutch were at this very time established at Rajmahal, Patna and Chapra (7), as well as at Hugli, Kasimbazar and Dacca. With the Portuguese, on the other hand, familiarity was expressed in most uncomplimentary terms.

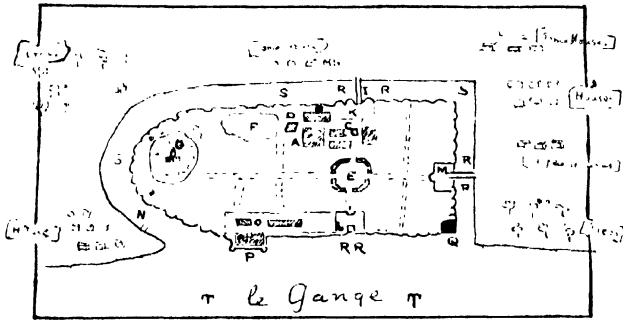
For the sake of comparison, a rough sketch copy (not a tracing) of Graaf's plan of the fort is annexed, as also a tracing of the plan published in Rennell's

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(6) "Moors": Hindustani. The word (says Crooke in the 1903 edition of *Hobson-Jobson*) was certainly in use for Urdu among the old European pensioners at Chunar as late as 1892. The earliest English Grammar of Hindustani (by Captain George Hadley, 1772) is entitled "Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language commonly called Moors."

(7) The Dutch Company had long had establishments up-country.





ROUGH SKETCH COPY OF GRAAF'S PLAN OF MONGHYR FORT.  
(FROM FRENCH *ESQUISSE DES VOYAGES*, 1719)

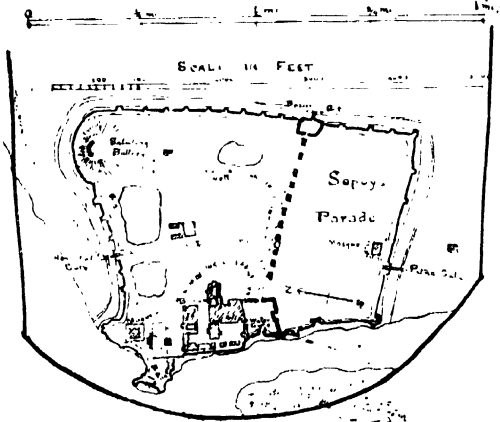
KEY to lettering on Graaf's Plan.

- A\* La Grande Mosquée.
- B La Maison du Gouverneur.
- C Notre Prison.
- D Le Lieu où l'on tient le Conseil.
- E Kettera Octogone.
- F Le Vivier.
- G Petite Montagne Sur laquelle est une Pagode.
- I Le Pont de la Porte Orientale.
- K Place dans la Ville joignant cette Porte.
- L La Porte Occidentale avec sa Place au dedans.
- M La Porte Méridionale, et sa Place.
- N La Porte Septentrionale.
- O Le Palais et le Jardin du Prince Cha Soube.
- P Le Chateau du Côté du Gange.
- Q La Tour Octogone sur la Rivière.
- R Grand Boulevard à Côté du Port.
- S Les Remparts et les Fosses.
- T Le Gange qui coule devant la Ville.

# RENNELL'S PLAN OF MONGHYR FORT

Edition published July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1780.

SCALE IN MILES



## MONGHYR FORT

As sketched by Nicolaas Graaf (Travels, 1719)  
and James Rennell (Bengal Atlas, 1780).

*Bengal Atlas* (1781 edition). I should here note that on my rough copy I have marked all the features and buildings that have been lettered by Graaf (corresponding to the letters in his tabular list of references), but I have not hatched in all the other buildings. With the exception of the area to the N. E. round the hillock marked G, most of the area within the walls on either side of the several roads is hatched on Graaf's plan, as if occupied by buildings.

While on the whole Graaf's description of the fort is very clear, and perfectly intelligible to any person well acquainted with the place, two points are somewhat obscure. It is not clear what Graaf means by the "grand boulevard à côté du port." He seems to have put too many Rs. on his plan. By the "port," he no doubt meant the western gate that opened directly on to the river, and the "boulevard" was perhaps an esplanade or terrace on top of the ramparts on this front, between the west gate and the octagonal tower. It is unlikely that a "boulevard" would have been carried along in front of the viceroy's palace (to the north of that gate), as we know that the seraglio was close to this front, and the ladies, according to local tradition, went down to bathe in the river beneath. Then, it is not clear how Graaf could have paced the distance right round the outside of the moat, as he tells us he was arrested somewhere near the east gate of the fort. It is possible, of course, that he completed the measurement at a later time, after he had been permitted to go about with comparative freedom. In any case Graaf's paces must have been very short as, even taking 30 inches to the pace, 12,500 paces would make the distance over 5 miles, whereas it is not so much as this. However, it is evident from his accounts of several other localities visited in the course of his travels, that Graaf was a fairly accurate observer, and not disposed to draw upon his imagination.

Rennell's plan may be taken as showing correctly to scale the actual contour of the fort, which cannot have altered to any appreciable extent since 1670. Graaf's plan is not drawn to scale. Its most noticeable defect lies in his underestimation of the width of the fort from east to west, more especially in the northern half. On the other hand, the relative distances between the gates and structures on the outer periphery of the fort will be found to be very fairly correct, showing that he had made careful notes of the distances on his piece of paper, as he walked round.

The first matter, perhaps, that a comparison of the two plans suggests is that the main stream of the Ganges flowed closer to the western front of the fort in Graaf's time, as he has shown land covered by houses almost due north of the Kashtharani point. If an inhabited site did exist in that position in his time, it has been cut away since, unless we assume that Graaf had misplaced the site afterwards used for an English cemetery outside the north gate (called the "Hospital Gate" in Rennell's plan). A century later there was evidently a *char* opposite the western front, the main stream having practically adopted its present course.



In 1670 there appears to have been only one large tank inside the fort, while on Rennell's plan we find all three (as now), with this difference that they were then of irregular shape (since re-excavated and trimmed to rectangular shape). Were these two additional tanks dug while Qasim Ali Khan had his headquarters there in 1761-3, and the earth utilised to raise the rectangular mound-like an acropolis on which the *Damdama Kothi* stood in the last century?

The next feature that strikes the eye on Graaf's sketch is the temple on top of the Karnachaura hill. Rennell's plan shows that this had been altogether removed, and replaced by a saluting battery used during its brief existence, when a Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief paid a visit. It is most probable that this battery had been there when DeGloss was making his survey in 1767, as before Rennell's atlas of 1781 was published Goddard had built his large house there.

The handsome, or fine, octagonal *kettera*, by which term I presume Graaf meant a *katra*, or market-place, in the middle of the fort is another feature of Graaf's plan. A century later the long row of officers' quarters lay right across this site. Graaf does not mark Shāh Nafā's *dargah*, but he specially marks the octagonal tower at the south-west corner of the fort, now celebrated as the site of the tomb of Mirza Muhammad Saiyid. This poet, whose *takhallus*, or poetical nom-de-plume, was "Ashraf," resided at Monghyr two or three decades after Graaf's visit, and probably came there in the entourage of Aurangzeb's grandson, Sultan Azim-ush-shan, when governor of the eastern provinces (8). The "fine castle" referred to by our author, as standing at P on the plan, appears to have covered the whole of the top of the Kashtharani promontory. No trace of such a building is to be found on Rennell's plan: the site had evidently been cleared, and two trees are shown where the castle had stood. At the present day the northern part of this projection is occupied by a cluster of Hindu temples, at the top of the steps that lead down into the holy river. And thereby hangs a tale! A rule that maintains religious tolerance has enabled the Hindus to erect, within the last hundred years or so, these temples, and to reoccupy and appropriate wholly to the unmolested observance of their faith one of their most hallowed sites, at the ghat that is traditionally reputed to have been trodden by Sita, on her way to her ordeal at Sitakund. Every morning lines of devout worshippers, both men and women, may be seen streaming to and fro along the roads through the fort to the ghat that "takes away" every "affliction" (*kashtharani*).

Other changes in detail crowd to the mind of one familiar with the fort as it now is; but it would be tedious to specify them all. The governor's house, or palace, as Graaf prefers to call it in his text, situated close to the eastern rampart, to the north of the walled quadrangle inside the east gate, must have been a large building. It was most likely constructed there for the

(8) He had at one time been tutor to Zeb-un-nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb.

commandant of the fort, not far from the principal gate, at a period when the much superior sites to the north-west by the river side had been appropriated for the accommodation of the provincial viceroy. There is no trace of it on Rennell's plan, nor of the "Grande Mosquée" (*jami masjid*), the council chamber and the prison. Again, the south-eastern quarter, marked as the "Sepoys Parade" in Rennell, which is nearly all shown hatched by Graaf, as if occupied by buildings, had apparently been entirely cleared for use as a parade ground. In fact the inside of the fort has been almost wholly altered; and could Nicolaas de Graaf be set down in the middle of it to-day, he would not recognise it. But the surrounding ramparts on the outside, with the exception of the embrasures and crenelated parapet, now practically all gone, are probably very much the same as they were in his day, save for the effects of weathering and natural decay: and there can be very little difference in the moat. It still fills when the river is in high flood, as in his time, though of course it cannot be so deep now.

I had almost forgotten Graaf's mention of two carved stone elephants, with a man on each, on either side of the inner gate leading from the eastern quadrangle into the fort. Although he dismisses them with the remark that they were merely ornaments, the fact that they stood there is of interest. Readers of this journal will doubtless call to mind in this connexion the story of Jaimal and Patta, the "Elephant Gate" (*Hathipol*, i.e. *hathi paur* or elephant gate) at Agra, the two large stone elephants replaced by Lord Curzon in the fort at Delhi, and "elephant gates" in other forts (such as Rohtasgarh). We have no evidence as to when these carvings were set up at Monghyr—they are no longer there; but admirers of "the Great Mogul" and of Rajput chivalry may well be excused if they associate this kind of *dvarpal* with Akbar's "exalted sense of the merits of his foes" (9).

C. E. A. W. O.

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(9) See Tod's "Rajasthan"—Annals of Mewar, Chap. X, and Bernier's letter quoted in the notes.

## MONGHYR FORT IN 1845.

By way of pendant to Mr. Oldham's article, we may quote the following account of Monghyr Fort in 1845, from Bholanath Chunder's "*Travels of a Hindoo*" (Trubner: 1869): Vol. I. p. 109:

"In Monghyr there are no ancient buildings, or ruins of them, to render it a place of antiquarian interest. The only object to detain the traveller is its fort, which stands on a rocky promontory, and covers a large extent of ground, measuring 4,000 feet in length by 3,500 in breadth. On three sides the ramparts are defended by a wide and deep moat, filled only during the rains, and on the fourth is the Ganges, which flows here with strong eddies and currents, and forms one of the difficult passages for navigation. There are rocks in the bed of the stream against which the waters beat in regular surges, and it is pleasant to see them break immediately beneath your feet from the bastion above. The fort is now dismantled, and merely surrounded with high stone walls, having four gateways, the principal of which is called the *Lall Durwaza*. Upon two or three slabs of the side pillars of the eastern gateway, we observed some small, worn-out bas-relief Buddhistic figures, from which it was evident that they had once belonged to a Buddhist temple standing at this town in a former age, and which afforded a proof of its antiquity. Inside the enclosure 'is an ample plain of fine turf, dotted with a few trees, and two or three noble tanks, the largest covering a couple of acres'—a state of things just the same as seen by Heber forty years ago. Two high grassy knolls are enclosed within the rampart, 'occupying two opposite angles of the fort, which is an irregular square with twelve bastions.' On one of these eminences is a handsome house, originally built for the military commander of the district, but now occupied by the Civil Judge of the station (10). There is in the fort a beautiful mosque, built of black marble. The palace of Sultan Soojah is traced in the altered building that is now occupied as the shop of Thomas and Co., and where we saw a Mussulman gent come and buy an English spelling-book. This is the best located of all buildings in Monghyr. Near it was shown to us the ruins of a vast well, and a subterranean way communicating with the Ganges, through which the Begums used to go to the river for ablutions. The masonry works of the passage are in a ruinous state, and grown over with jungles. The little stone-ghaut is yet in a fair condition."

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(10) This is the Karnachaura house, which, according to William Hodges, who visited Monghyr in 1781 (*Travels in India*, p. 29) was built by Major-General Thomas Goddard and was the residence of the officer commanding the troops. Goddard died at sea, off the Lands End, on July 7, 1783. When Thomas Twining came to Monghyr in 1794, the occupant of the house was Major-General Horton Briscoe, 'the oldest General in the Company's service,' who had been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1780, and who died in Calcutta on December 25, 1802, at the age of sixty-one. The house (says Twining) was "a noble mansion situated upon the summit of a small hill within the fort, near the lower angle." When he met the old General on horseback on his morning's ride, he was "surprised to see him followed by a train of horses, all saddled and bridled with much show, and each led by his syce or keeper, handsomely dressed."

## The Last Will and Testament of Babu Begum.

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**B**AHU Begum, wife of Shuja-ud-Dowlah, Nawab Vazir of Oude, 1754-75, a short account of whose life and last will and testament forms the subject-matter of this paper\* was a conspicuous figure in the history of the later Mughals. Born of a noble family connected with the Great Mughal Court of Muhammad Shah, (1719-47), "nursed in childhood" according to Hoey, (1) in the arms of the Emperor of Hindusthan, married with a splendour and a magnificence seldom surpassed by any royal marriage in India, except perhaps that of Dara Sikoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan, and blessed with the unusually long life of 88 years, "this august lady of ladies" was a witness to a series of thrilling historical events and kaleidoscopic political changes such as the decadence of the Delhi Emperors from Bahadur Shah to Shah Alum, the practical independence of the Governor of Oudh (Nawab Vazir) from the authority of Delhi (1732-43), the whirlwind invasion of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, his plunder of the renowned Peacock Throne of Shah Jehan, the three successive invasions of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Durrani, (1748-61), and finally, the ultimate annihilation of the empire which the great Mughal Baber, had reared up on the plains of Panipat in 1526.

"When at the zenith of her glory she possessed ten thousand troops, horse and foot, scores of elephants and countless horses. No one woman in all the 32 *Subahs* of India could be held up in her day as her rival in either the grandeur of her surroundings or in the respect she could command." Even in her death she was great. The sum of four lakhs of rupees (2) spent on her funeral was considered by Captain J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow "to be modest in the extreme." She was however accused (3) by him as possessing "all the bigotry, prejudice and caprice of her religion, country and sex" and was further charged with being "so parsimonious in every branch of her expenditure as to be proverbial for those qualities throughout Oude." Yet her faithful Minister, Darab Ali Khan, who had every opportunity of watching her closely, assures (4) us that "though frugal in expenditure of her revenue, she was not only in some cases liberal but was charitable in the extreme; and

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\* Paper read at the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Record Commission held at Madras on the 10th January 1924.

(1) *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad*, by William Hoey, Vol. II, Allahabad 1889. This is a translation from the original Persian *Tarikh Farahbakhsh* by Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh.

(2) Secret Cons. 30 April, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to J. Adam, Secy. dated Lucknow, 15th April, 1813, (para 16).

(3) *Ibid* (para 24).

(4) Secret Cons. 27 August, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to the Board, dated Lucknow, 31st July, 1813, (para 6).

that a large sum of money from twenty to thirty thousand rupees per mensem used to be distributed by her own hand among the people of her *Mahal* on the first day of each month." Hoey also pays a tribute to her generosity and says that "the people who earned their bread directly and indirectly through her bounty must have been more than a hundred thousand and all felt as happy and secure as though they were in a mother's arms." She was a model wife and a real partner to her husband and sold a large amount of her jewellery, giving also her personal allowances to help him after his flight to Faizabad from the field of Buxar (5) in 1764.

Bahu Begum whose full name was Ammat-uz-Zahra was the "only legitimate daughter of the Nawab Mutaman-ud-Dowlah Muhammad Ishak Khan (6), a Noble of the Court of the Emperor Muhammad Shah and distinguished by an extraordinary share of confidence and favour of that monarch whom he served in the capacity of Diwan-i-Khalsa or Comptroller-General of the Public Revenues of the Empire—an office in the civil department subordinate only to that of Vazir." She was married in 1746, to Shuja-ud-Dowlah son of Abul Mansur, better known as Safdar Jang, who was the builder of the city of Faizabad. The Nawab Safdar Jang was also "at this time a person of considerable rank in the Empire and was in high favour of the Emperor Muhammad Shah as well as the confidential friend of Bahu Begum's father." By the desire of the aforesaid Emperor "an alliance between the son of Safdar Jang (Shuja-ud-Dowlah) and the daughter of Mutaman-ud-Dowlah (Bahu Begum) was negotiated while the parties were yet in their infancy."

The father of Bahu Begum however died before the marriage of his daughter. Her elder brother Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah, "who on the death of his father had adopted the Begum as his child, (having no legitimate children of his own) devoted the whole of his fortune to her marriage." The marriage (7) which took place in the year 1159 of the Hijira or 1746 A.D. was an occasion for the display of "uncommon splendour and extraordinary expense under the personal charge of the Emperor." Among the presents offered to the bride "there were a thousand cups of silver weighing each a hundred rupees." Moreover she was a recipient of a "*jagir* consisting of parganas of Salone etc. which yielded an annual income of nine lakhs of rupees." It is a fact (8) worthy of note that more than two crores of rupees were spent on her marriage.

After her marriage with Shuja-ud-Dowlah in 1746 she lived with her husband in Faizabad and continued to reside there even after his death in 1775. Shuja-ud-Dowlah had so high a regard for her that no one dared utter before

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Secret Cons. 30 April, 1918. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow to J. Adam, Secy., dated Lucknow, 15th April, 1813 (paras 2 and 3).

(7) Secret Cons. 30 April, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam, Secy., dated Lucknow 15th April. 1813 (para 5).

(8) *Ibid.*

her the names of his inferior wives or the names of his other sons except Asaf-ud-Dowlah, her own-born. Shuja-ud-Dowlah went so far as to place the seals of his government in her custody and allowed her to enjoy a perquisite derived from "a tax of a twenty-fourth part of the yearly pay of every officer and soldier of cavalry." Further he granted her an additional *jagir* of the extensive district of Gonda for the payment of the establishments of "the Khas and Khurd Mahals."

On the death of Safdar Jang Shuja-ud-Dowlah, her husband, became Nawab Vazir of Oude, when her great influence over him, according to Captain J. Baillie, "occasioned a very rapid increase of the provisions assigned to her brothers, who obtained *jagirs* in Oude in the first instance of three lakhs of rupees each per annum and had those *jagirs* occasionally increased in proportion to the increase of territorial acquisition by the Vazir (Shuja-ud-Dowlah), till at length about the period of Shuja-ud-Dowlah's death the *jagir* of each of the brothers afforded a clear revenue for his support of six lakhs of rupees per annum."

The next Nawab Vazir was Asaf-ud-Dowlah, (1775-97), her son. He quarrelled with his mother and left Faizabad, the head-quarters of his father, for Lucknow. But Bahu Begum continued to live at Faizabad till her death in 1816. This city had risen to a height of unparalleled magnificence under the rule of her husband almost rivalling Delhi. According to Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.C.S., "it was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water." After the death of Asaf-ud-Dowlah in 1797 his adopted son Wazir Ali succeeded him, but his reign terminated after four months. Nawab Yamin-ud-Dowlah Saadat Ali Khan, the son of Shuja-ud-Dowlah and the step-son of Bahu Begum, next became Nawab Vazir of Oude in 1798. His name is intimately associated with her "will and testament." It was the want of cordiality and confidence between them which drove her to the protection of the British and led eventually to making them the "residuary legatees" of her will.

It appears from the records (9) that soon after his accession in 1799 Saadat Ali Khan entered into an agreement with Bahu Begum under the guarantee of the British in which he "promised to show her every degree of respect and attention and to do everything to promote her convenience and comfort." He further consented to grant her "the Mahals of Oude, Puchumraut and Mangalees situated near Faizabad as *jagirs*." But the subsequent records of Government show that under the garb of friendship Saadat Ali had always kept a covetous eye on her property and that she, also, on her part was not less anxious to secure her property and jewellery from his grasp. His other acts, such as, the "sequestration of the *jagir* of her nephew Bandah Ali Khan, the placing of soldiers in Faizabad under the pretext of guarding the city," the

(9) Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th August, 1808, (para 2).

reduction of her daily ration-allowance from Rs. 400 to Rs. 200, the removal of her old kitchen in Lucknow from the place where her son Asaf-ud-Dowlah had built it for her, and last, but not least, the grant of similar honours to his mother (Bahu Begum's co-wife) which were her own monopoly in the lifetime of her husband, made her still more indignant.

Thus enraged the Begum wrote a letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General, towards the close of 1799 (10). In that she entreated him to issue instruction to the Resident at Lucknow (Mr. Lumsden) directing him "not to permit any of the relations of her house, except the English, to have any concern nor in any manner to interfere in her affairs." She, at the same time, sent for Mr. Lumsden at Lucknow, where she was then staying, and expressed to him her intention of "leaving all her wealth to the British Government" and further told him to inform the Council in London of this fact. She appeared before Mr. Lumsden in her "Sedan Chair" and spoke for herself using no medium as her spokesman and without allowing admittance to any one except her Minister, Jawahir Ali Khan, whose death occurred in the same year. This boldness on the part of the Begum highly displeased Saadat Ali Khan. He told his step-mother that he was "extremely ashamed of this unusual proceeding on her part. No stranger had ever heard her voice as long as his father or her son Asaf-ud-Dowlah were living and he would like to know what extraordinary emergency had now arisen that she talked to a stranger with her own lips and not through another person." Bahu Begum retorted that "it was *his* accession that had driven her to this step and that she did not know how often it would be necessary for her to act in the same way. Moreover, she was her own mistress and he should have nothing to say to her." Thus the alienation between Saadat Ali and Bahu Begum became complete.

Mr. Lumsden informed the Governor-General about the Begum's desire and the Marquis of Wellesley sent a report to the Court of Directors in London. They replied that what the Begum had said "was only a verbal expression of her wishes, but in order to prove her sincerity she should furnish a 'will' duly sealed with a description of her property, money and jewelleries and everything else in detail of quantity and value, with a corresponding list of the monthly allowances she desired to bequeath." When the Begum came to know of this she in the month of April of 1810 (11) sent to Captain Baillie her "will" dated 14th Rabi-ul-awwal A. H. 1225, but with this no description of her property was given. It appears from the records that Captain Baillie kept this "will" with him till 1813.

The following is a short summary of the "will":—

- (A) 3 lakhs of sicca rupees to be given from her personal money to her Minister, Darab Ali Khan, to erect a mausoleum over her grave.

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(9) Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th August, 1808 (para 4).

(11) Secret Cons. 12 March, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam, Secy., dated 27th February, 1813.

- (B) 1 lakh of sicca rupees to be paid as donation to the shrines of Kerbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf and other holy places at the discretion of the above Minister.
- (C) Sicca rupees 10,000 the clear *jama* of the villages in the pargana of Puchumrath were assigned to defray the annual expenses of the above mausoleum and the surplus revenue of these villages to be given to the poor and religious men inhabiting the said mausoleum.

The following important names out of the several, who were the recipients of her favour, are mentioned in the "will":—

- (a) Darab Ali Khan—her faithful and favourite eunuch Minister. He was a native of Rusulabad in the Salone district. He was reported to be a natural eunuch and was transferred to the Begum as a slave while still an infant.
- (b) Mirza Muhammad Taqi, who married the adopted daughter of the Begum, Bibi Sufyan or Lutfunnissa Begum.
- (c) Mirza Asghar Ali Khan and Mirza Akbar Ali Khan, the sons of the late Nawab Salar Jang, her youngest brother.
- (d) The children of Nawab Zafar-ud-Dowlah, her nephew.

It is further stated in her "will" that it was her wish that "after the fulfilment of her desires the whole of her property of every description should devolve on the British Government."

In 1813, the Begum being seriously indisposed, Captain Baillie sent to Lord Minto, Governor-General, her "will" on the 27th February (12). On the 12th March Lord Minto instructed Captain Baillie, according to the desire of the Court of Directors, to visit the Begum and to obtain from her an accurate statement of her personal property and the places of their deposit. He was further instructed to point out to her the utility of "investing her money in the Company's Fund or depositing it in one of the Company's treasuries." The meeting took place on the 18th July and the Begum talked with him from behind a screen. She "expressed an invincible repugnance" either to part with her property during her lifetime or to furnish a statement of it. Subsequently, however, as he convinced her that the terms of her "will" could not be carried out by the British Government unless a schedule and other particulars of her property were furnished, she was forced, with the utmost reluctance, to substitute a "deed of disposal, together with a statement of her property" in the place of her former "will." In this new "deed" certain modifications were made in the allowances granted to her relatives and dependants. Darab Ali Khan, her faithful Minister, was also made to sign an "obligation" for the surrender of the Begum's property to the British Government whenever required after her death. All these documents were executed (13) on the 26th of

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(12) Secret Cons. 12 March, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to J. Adam Secy., dated the 27th February, 1813.

(13) Secret Cons. 27 August, 1813. Letter from Capt. J. Baillie to Lord Minto, dated 31st July, 1813.



Rajab 1228 Hijira or A.D. 25th July, 1813. When these documents reached the British Government, they executed a corresponding engagement with Babu Begum, dated the 29th October, 1813, by which they "confirmed and guaranteed the disposal of the Begum's personal property prescribed in her 'deed of disposal'" and further promised "that on obtaining possession of that property the whole of the Begum's directions in favour of her relations and dependants mentioned in the aforesaid 'deed' should, as far as depended on them, be carried into early and complete effect." They also promised that they "would employ their utmost influence to obtain from the Nawab Vazir Saadat Ali Khan the grant in perpetuity of the villages in the Pargana of Puchmurath with a yearly *jama* of Rupees 10,000 in the name of Darab Ali Khan according to the Begum's desire."

From the schedule of the property submitted by Bahu Begum we find that in her treasury and palace called 'Moti Bagh' there was at that time 70 lakhs of rupees including ready-money and jewelleries. Some of the money was placed in chests and was buried under the floor excavated for that purpose (a) in the cellar below "Bara-Dari" (b) in the small apartment adjoining the old "Kachahri" (c) in the hall of the old "Kachahri" and (d) in a small apartment of the palace. We also find that she deposited her jewels in a small room of the palace adjoining to that in which she slept and in a large room called "Toshakhana" or Wardrobe. Her utensils were kept in a room of the 'Chini Khana.' From her 'deed of disposal' it is gathered that "she gave in trust and deposit to the British Government the amount of 70 lakhs of rupees then in her possession together with what she might in future acquire," i.e., from the date of the 'deed' till the day of her death; that with the exception of certain changes in the allowances granted to several dependants and menials, the important items of her original "will" remained unchanged; and that she appointed Darab Ali Khan to distribute the allowances among the persons mentioned in her 'deed.' For a detailed account of her 'deed,' historical students are referred to the records of the Imperial Record Department.

It is further gathered from the papers (14) of the above Department that on the death of the Begum in 1816 the British Government was called upon to determine what course should be followed to fulfil their agreement with the Begum. It was then determined that on the Vazir (Saadat Ali Khan) agreeing to pay to the British Government such a sum as was required to enable it to fulfil the Begum's bequests, the whole of her property should be delivered up to him.

"The aggregate amount of the stipends being Rs. 2,96,976 per annum to be paid by monthly instalments, the sum of Rupees 50,11,469-12-8 was required to meet the charge. To this had to be added three lakhs for a mausoleum and one lakh as donation for the holy shrines; in all Rupees 54, 11,469-12-8. The Resident, Mr. Strachey, appears to have made provision for the payment by lunar months and to have included in the arrangement certain allowances

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(14) Mr. Mackenzie's notes on "Lucknow Stipends."

(15) not originally contemplated; so that the sum paid by Saadat Ali Khan, the Vazir, was raised to—(16) exclusive of the four lakhs required for the mausoleum and the shrines. The amount of the Begum's treasure was found to be Rupees 89,48,916, exclusive of jewelleryes and other property."

An account of the death of this exalted lady, Babu Begum, as found in Hoey's translation of the "*Tarikh Farahbakhsh*" amply repays perusal. About the year 1816 A.D. "this venerable lady" reached the age of 88 years. "She had declined in strength very gradually. She used to go each year to her nephew's house in the first ten days of Muharram to see the 'tazia' of Imam Hussain and return when she had recited the Fatiha." This year she prepared to go as usual, but Darab Ali Khan tried to prevent her on account of the fear of a chill in the cold weather; but she was not desirous of breaking her yearly custom. "She went, but caught a cold when returning home and a slight fever ensued, which increased daily," "for the Lord of Death with icy breath had entered in to kill." "The day before she died she said that 'the great Nawab' (meaning Shuja-ud-Dowlah, her husband) had come to take her." She repeated these words before Darab Ali Khan who was near her and passed away calmly "amidst the tears and cries of her aged and sorrowing servants."

"Darab Ali Khan who enjoyed her perfect confidence carried her venerated corpse to the river and washed it." She was "borne with great respect and ceremony" to the Jawahir Bagh on the shoulders of the nobles of Faizabad; "around her bier walked servants scattering silver and gold for the repose of her soul with a lavish hand that enriched the needy and relieved the poor. Darab Ali Khan opened the earth in the 'baradari' at the very spot where she used to sit, spread below her some sacred dust which had been brought from Kerbala by pilgrims and laid her on it to rest; a thousand men sat all night reading the sacred texts of the *Koran* till the day dawned and the shadows fled." *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

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(15) To the families of Mirza Zaman	...	Rs.	950	monthly
Zafar-ud-Dowlah	...	"	1,000	"
Indigent connections	...	"	550	"
			<hr/>	
Total	...	"	2,500	"

(16) The sum is left blank in the records.

## A Forgotten Capital of Bengal.

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THE last Hindu Kings of Bengal belonged to the Sena dynasty called the Senanvaya in Sanskrit. These Kings were not, however, original inhabitants of that country. They claimed to have hailed from the Deccan and continued for some generations in comparative obscurity before they obtained an opportunity to capture the throne and to retain it for about a century. The circumstances which led to the rise and fall of their power came very soon to be shrouded in mystery, making it possible for every idle gossip to receive a ready acceptance. The gradual discovery of several inscriptions and other contemporary writings of their age have now disclosed the true outlines of their history, although materials are still wanting to fill in the details.

Traditions regarding these Kings, recorded in the books of genealogy preserved in Bengal, or in the historical accounts compiled by the Mahomedans, have not as yet been corroborated by authentic records. But a copper plate inscription, discovered in western Bengal, records the first settlement of the ancestors of the Sena Kings in the Rarha division, which is now represented by the modern districts of Midnapur, Howrah, Hugli, Burdwan and Murshidabad.

The gradual downfall of the Pal Kingdom appears to have afforded an opportunity to Vijaya Sena, the first King of the Sena dynasty, to snatch away a portion of the country and carve out for himself and his successors a small kingdom, which gradually embraced the whole of modern Bengal and parts of Mithila (Tirhut) and Magadha (Bihar).

The reconstruction of the history of this dynasty received an impetus from the accidental discovery in the Rajshahi district of a stone inscription in Sanskrit, recording the dedication of a temple to Pradyumnesvara by the first King of the Sena dynasty without disclosing the date of dedication. Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, a former Collector of Rajshahi, discovered this inscription "amidst a number of large blocks of stone in a dense jungle" near the village of Deopara, in police station Godagari. He sent it to Calcutta with an English translation of the inscription as interpreted by Pundit Ramadhana Tarkapanchanana. The stone slab is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta; a clear estampage of the inscription, taken from the stone, may be inspected in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi.

Although the name of Deopara thus came to be well-known to the learned world, the locality remained unexplored until the members of the Varendra Research Society paid a visit to it in 1910. They discovered in this neighbourhood traces of the first capital of the Sena Kings at Vijayanagara

of which Deopara appears to have been a *para* or ward specially set apart for devotional architecture.

The inscription, containing thirty-six Sanskrit verses composed by Umapatidhara, a contemporary of Jayadeva, was incised in thirty-two lines on the polished surface of a piece of clay-stone measuring 3".2" by 1'. 9¾" by a Ranaka named Sulpani, whose title describes him as the "crest-jewel of the guild of Varendra artists." Although the diction of the court poet is decidedly diffuse and verbose, the inscription discloses some of the historical events of the age, fairly indicating the dedication of the temple after Vijaya Sena had assailed or conquered the Lords of Gauda (Gaur), Kamarupa, and Kalinga, and brought into captivity the Rulers named Nanya, Raghava, Vardhana and Vira.

Vijaya Sena was the son of Hemanta Sena, who was the son of Samanta Sena, who, towards the end of his days, is said to have retired to the sacred hermitages on the banks of the Ganges. Vijaya had built many lofty temples and dug many extensive lakes, before the temple of Pradyumnesvara was built. This temple appears to have been the largest building enterprise in which he was ever engaged. It was, in the language of the poet, as high as would be a mountain for the midday rest of the Sun. The golden pitcher placed on it as its crowning ornament was as big as a pitcher could be if it was made by using the earth as a wheel to turn the Sumeru mountain as a lump of clay. Before this temple the King dug a lake, "the sheets of water of which were streaked by the flashing clusters of rays of the jewels on the points of the diadems of the serpent damsels of the lower regions, and to which the bees were attracted by the fragrance of the musk from the breasts of the citizens' wives who bathed in it" (Verse 29).

The image, that was enshrined in the temple under the name of Pradyumnesvara, represented the playful joining together of the images of Hari and Hara. It has not as yet been discovered. The poetic description recorded in the inscription shows that it was a two armed image, which prominently indicated Siva, but the King caused him to appear as a prince rather than as an ascetic. "He provided bright coloured dresses for the naked; a hundred lovely female attendants for the husband of only half a wife, towns filled with citizens for him whose abode is the cremation ground, and endless wealth for him who subsists on alms" (Verse 30). Replacing Siva's usual cloth of elephant-hide by variegated silken clothes, putting round his breast a large pearl string instead of his huge serpent, applying to his skin sandal paste instead of ashes, putting in his hands a string of sapphires in place of the beads, providing long emeralds in place of the snakes, and instead of men's bones a decoration formed of costly pearls, the King furnished an attire for Siva which was in every way unique. This type appears to have been copied by others also, as will appear from two specimens, answering this description, discovered and deposited in the museum of the Varendra Research Society.

We are indebted to the court poet for the important information that this abode (temple) of Siva was not built in a lonely corner like a cremation ground, but in or about a great city teeming with a large population, presumably at an easy distance from the residence of the victorious King. The poetic description should not, therefore, be entirely ignored by the archaeologist.

Deopara appertains to *pergana* Gärerhat. It stands on high land, almost surrounded by a deep channel. A few huts, clustered in a corner, constitute the modern insignificant village, while the greater portion of the area is covered by old tanks and foundations of ancient buildings.

The largest tank, nearly square in shape, is now called the Padumsahar, which is an undoubted corruption of the word Pradyumnesvara. A public road now runs by the east bank of this tank, which was evidently the lake dug by Vijaya Sena in front of the temple of Pradyumnesvara as noted in the inscription. This is one of the many tanks ascribed to him which has been correctly identified. It is full of stone relics which may still be recovered if suitable arrangements are made in that behalf. A partial exploration made on the east side disclosed 129 pieces of sculpture in stone. There are no traces of architecture on the south and west banks, but on the east and north one may yet meet with old foundations. Tradition has clothed a heap of bricks on the north bank with the sanctity of a Moslem durgah. There are two gigantic *nux vomica* trees on this bank. The members of the Varendra Research Society dug out a lintel of sand stone 12'  $\times$  4'  $\times$  4, from the east bank. This was locally called the *Rajar-mar-dhenki*, the husking machine of the King's mother. This shows that the poetic description of the height of the temple though exaggerated, was not without some justification, for the dimensions of the lintel suggest clearly that the temple was as high as that of Jagannatha at Puri, if not higher still. A fragment of the cornice carved out of a block of sandstone, which was dug out and removed to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society from the east bank of the Pradyumnesvara tank, indicates that the temple was probably built of sand stone.

Another tank with traces of ruins around it exists in this neighbourhood. This is locally called Sitalsahar, probably to signify its connection with a temple built and dedicated to Sitala. Sital, according to local tradition, was a brother of Vijaya Raja, and is said to have lived in a neighbouring place which is still called Sitalpur.

To the north of Deopara stands an extensive habitation which goes by the name of Chabbisnagar (twenty four cities) where several large tanks and stone relics disclose former affluence.

To the south of Deopara, at a distance, stands Vijayanagara on the Ganges, to which tradition still assigns the residence of Vijaya Raja. The name of Vijayanagara signifies that it was a Nagara (city) of Vijaya (victory or a person of that name). The district road to Godagari passes through it cutting it into two portions, northern and southern. In the southern portion,

on the high bank of the river, which has now receded towards the south, stand the ruins of a Moslem shrine in which several stones were discovered to have been utilised by the Mahomedans either as a lamp-post or a mortar.

The Pavana-dutam, a Sanskrit poem, composed by Dhoyi or Dhoyika Kaviraja, another contemporary of Jayadeva, makes mention of a place named Vijayapura, situated on the Ganges, as a capital city of the Sena Kings of Bengal. The poem give a flattering description of this place. It was a skandhavera (camp) as well as a Rajadhani (Royal residence) which is said to have been unnata (flourishing or elevated). Its affluence was shown by the fact that the ladies planted *areca* plants in their courtyards in beds decorated with precious stones. Its artistic achievements were indicated by the fact that the playful damsels tried to elude the pursuit of their lovers by taking their stand by the side of the wooden images which decorated the lofty balconies so that the living damsels could not be distinguished from the images of wooden ones, until actually touched with the finger-tips by their beloved ones. It was a city of peace, prosperity and pleasure.

This poetic account of Vijayapura was sought to be applied to modern Nadia by some writers, who apparently took no notice of Deopara and Vijayanagara. The identification of Vijayanagara with the forgotten first capital of the Sena Kings of Bengal, first suggested by the members of the Varendra Research Society, after a painstaking local investigation, has now met with general approval.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

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## The Friends of Warren Hastings.

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IN the famous State trial of Warren Hastings the evidence made it clear that the great Pro-Consul had a host of enemies. It is a relief, therefore, to turn to the other side of the shield and indulge in a dissertation upon his friends, of whom his many engaging characteristics and the habitual courtesy of his daily life secured to him a goodly company. The purpose of the following pages is to dwell more particularly upon the friends of his Indian career, who sympathised with him in his days of trouble.

Of the best known of these friends, such as Sir Elijah Impey and Richard Barwell, enough is to be found in the pages of Busted and other authoritative writers, and little is necessary beyond giving a summary of what is already well known. The *Barwell Letters* published by the Calcutta Historical Society help to elucidate many a point of interest, and a Life of Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of Bengal, by his son E. B. Impey, (1846), did something to rehabilitate his name. The *Memoirs* of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, the Father of the Bengal Artillery and Hastings' second in his duel with Francis, have been reprinted in the pages of "Bengal, Past and Present," from Parlb'y's *British Indian Military Repository*. An account of the life of the Colonel has appeared also in *Blackwood's Magazine* of May 1909. Of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, the first Bengali Grammarian, certain correspondence appeared in an old number of the *Calcutta Review*; and an account of his life was published in a later issue of the same journal. Of Augustus Cleveland, and his successful attempt at bringing into subjection "without bloodshed or terrors of authority" the wild folk of Raimahal who looked upon the boy Collector as their hero, a good deal will be found in Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland* and similar other works. But the authorities for others, as, for instance, Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock and William Larkins, are not so well known. An article on the former did indeed appear in *Blackwood's Magazine* of April 1904 from the pen of "Sydney C. Grier," but the journal is not now easily available.

The close connection of the Hancock (some times spelt 'Handcock,' 'Hendock') family with the early part of Hastings' career is evidenced in the Miscellaneous Correspondence and other papers of Warren Hastings preserved among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum. They contain certain letters written by Hancock from Calcutta to his wife Philadelphia in England.

The first glimpse of the name of Hancock appears in a list of surgeons' mates in India in 1748. In April 1751 Hancock was serving as Head Surgeon at Devacottah, and two years later at Fort St. David. In June 1758 he was appointed to be one of the surgeons at the Madras Presidency, but a year later obtained permission to remove to Bengal, and in July was entertained as Surgeon at Fort William. In November 1761 he was obliged to resign the Company's service on account of ill health. References to Hancock may be found in the following year in the letters of a Samuel Stavely to Warren

Hastings, who was at this time Commercial Resident at Murshidabad, which present a pleasant picture of Calcutta Society of the time, showing the kind of "family party" life in which all the inhabitants were on good terms. Hastings was godfather to Hancock's little daughter Betsy, and seems to have lavished upon that "sweet little girl" the affection he would have felt for his own little Elizabeth had she lived. The coincidence of the two children's names prompts the suggestion, remarks "-S. C. Grier," that Hancock's wife Philadelphia, whom he had married at Cuddalore in February 1753, was sister of the first Mrs. Hastings (Mary) and of the Rev. George Austen, father of Jane Austen the novelist, after whom Hastings' dearly-loved son George, whose death left a shadow on his face for years, was named. This is supported by Hastings' evident feeling of responsibility for the Hancock family, and the generosity with which he placed them above the reach of want when he was contemplating a second marriage. A few years afterwards, however, the same writer observed that "diligent enquiry from many of the present day representatives of the Austen family has failed to show any Mary who might have married Captain Buchanan (the first Mrs. Hastings' former husband), and it seems that the close friendship between Hastings and the Hancock and Austen families must be accounted for by the fact that "Mr. Walter of Hampshire," a half-brother of George and Philadelphia Austen was one of his school-fellows."

Until, upon being appointed to a seat in the Council, Hastings built himself a house, he appears during his visits to Calcutta, to have made his home with the Hancocks. When he left Bengal in 1765, the Hancocks were his fellow-passengers on board the *Medway*. In England the Hancocks either made or renewed acquaintance with Mrs. Woodman, Hastings' sister, and her husband, becoming so intimate with them that Hastings writes that he regarded the two families as one. The friendship continued when pecuniary troubles drove Hastings and Hancock back to India, after a stay of little more than three years at home. Hastings was appointed Second in Council at Fort St. George. Hancock met with reverses at Madras and came to Calcutta to trade there, but finding that, under a recent order, an official position under the Company was necessary if he was to obtain a *dastak* (pass for free trade) to trade at all he accepted the post of Surgeon Extraordinary to the Garrison. He exercised the utmost parsimony, seldom going abroad and never inviting company. "I have confined my diet to one dish a day," he wrote to his 'dear Phila,' "and that, generally, salt fish or curry and rice; I eat neither breakfast nor supper, and all this that I may save a little for you."

Besides saving money, he was anxious to make it by virtue of the *dastak* which his appointment had procured for him. He entered into partnership with Hazari Mal, a well-known broker of those days and brother-in-law of Omichand, but the concern proved to be a failure. He then took a third share in a *chunam* contract with Government and one of the earliest schemes for the reclamation of Saugor Island, in conjunction with Benjamin Lacam, his part of the money being provided by Warren Hastings. In this venture also



he was unsuccessful; for, at the end of three years—the term of the contract—we find him congratulating himself upon having “gotten quit of it with the loss of only 7,300 rupees.”

Hancock had hoped to become Hastings’ private secretary “on account,” as he says, “of our long intimacy and my education,” but was passed over in favour of the Hon. John Stewart. But though Hastings did not make his friend his private secretary, he lavished favours upon him in other ways. He gave him the charge of his money matters, which the unfortunate doctor “mismanaged with as much zeal and as little success as he did his own,” and his patron relieved him, by a princely gift, from all apprehension for the future of his “dear and ever valued friend Mrs. Hancock” and his “dear Betsy.” Hancock died on November 5th, 1775, and was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. The following was the inscription on his grave, but the tomb is not traceable now:

“Here Lieth the Body of *Tyso Saul Hancock, Esq.*, who died 5th November, 1775, aged 64 years.”

Hancock left a will dated 8th December 1774, appointing Hastings and his friend Edward Baber his executors.

His daughter Elizabeth maintained her affection for Hastings to the last, for in 1818, shortly before his death, Hastings’ “dutiful god-daughter Elizabeth Austen” (1) sent him a “breakfast cup and saucer painted and gilded by herself, that he might be obliged to remember her at least once in every twenty-four hours.”

William Larkins—“Faithful Larkins,” as Warren Hastings styled him afterwards—came out to India as a Writer in the Company’s service and, on November 5th, 1772, was appointed to the Sub-Accountant’s Office, where he seems to have evinced a marked aptitude for the duties entrusted to his care. His assiduity and devotion, however, do not appear to have spared him the pain of being overlooked when a higher post had fallen vacant: and in March 1776 he was complaining of his supersession by the appointment of Leonard Collings to the Accountantship. In the Public Consultations that followed, the Governor-General very heartily concurred “in recommending Mr. Larkins to the Court of Directors to whose Assiduity and uncommon Abilities as an Accomptant I can safely bear testimony. In that Branch I do not know his equal.” This was perhaps one of the few instances in which Clavering and Francis held the same view as the Governor-General, for both of them remarked: “I most cordially join in a Recommendation of Mr. Larkins to the Directors, this mark of Approbation of his conduct is due to the attention and abilities he shows in this office.” On the 11th July 1777 he became Accomptant to the Public Department.

In February 1776 William Larkins married Miss Mary Harris, and

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(1) She married Henry Austen, the brother of Jane Austen.

Warren Hastings was godfather to his little son, who loved to call himself "Hastings Behaudur." The child died in 1788.

Larkins was piously attached to Warren Hastings and was ready to sacrifice his worldly prospects, if by so doing he could serve his renowned patron and friend. Before being appointed Accountant-General in succession to Croftes, Larkins had charge of the money received by Hastings in behalf of the Company—"such as gifts from native princes." He was therefore cited as a witness to give evidence at the famous Trial "on the charges relating to presents." It became apparent that the future Accountant-General had kept this petty account in a rather slipshod manner. This want of method created an untoward impression on the Managers, who arrived at very unfavourable conclusions with regard to Hastings because, as they pointed out, Larkins was "a man of acknowledged integrity, high in the confidence of Lord Cornwallis, and in great esteem with the Directors and the Board of Controul."

Larkins was one of Hastings' Indian attorneys, the others being the Hon'ble Charles Stuart and Thompson. Even after Hastings had left for England, he continued to have charge of the money matters in India of his august friend to whom he was more than ordinarily devoted. Devis had painted for him a likeness of Warren Hastings (2): speaking of it he wrote to Hastings: "With the Ring on my little Finger it shall go with the Estate to be purchased as a lasting Monument of your kindness to me and to my Boy your Namesake and Godson, who regularly salaams to it every morning after he is dressed, for we both sleep in the same Room with your Resemblance. As for myself you are at my Right Hand upwards of ten out of each twenty-four Hours, as that is now the portion of my Life devoted to the Desk."

He tendered his resignation of the service in March 1793 and sailed in the same year for England, where he died in 1800.

In 1766 a young soldier who had already been in the King's service enrolled himself as a servant of the East India Company and received a cadet-ship in the Bengal Army. On August 4th, 1767, he joined the Third Regiment of Native Infantry as Second Lieutenant, and rose to be a Lieutenant in a couple of years. This was William Palmer, destined very soon to be chosen by the discerning Hastings as one of his Aides-de-camp. In March 1776 William Palmer was appointed Confidential Secretary to Warren Hastings, and continued in the post for several years. On May 12th, 1777, he rose to the rank of Captain, and appears to have held the double post of Military and Private Secretary for some time. He was made a Major on July 29th, 1781. He was deservedly a great favourite with the Governor-General, who counted him

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(2) Larkins handed the picture on to Charles Chapman, who eventually presented it to Government House, Calcutta, where, he writes in 1796, "it now fronts that of the Marquis" (Cornwallis). It is now at Viceregal Lodge Delhi: and a copy hangs in the Bengal Legislative Council-Chamber at the Town Hall. The famous motto "*mens aequa in arduis*," is inscribed upon it. The portrait of Cornwallis, which is also by Devis, is at Belvedere.

among his personal friends and took every opportunity that presented itself to reward his faithful services. In May 1782, accordingly, we find Palmer appointed Resident at Lucknow; from 1787 till March 1798, he represented the Government as Resident at the Court of Scindhia, and filled a similar office at Poona from 1798 to 1801. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel on March 1st, 1794, and Colonel on November 1st 1798, was promoted to be Major-General on January 1st, 1805, and was appointed Lieutenant-General on June 4th, 1813.

Lieutenant-General William Palmer died at Berhampore on May 20th, 1816, after an illness of only twenty-four hours. The following General Order, which appeared in the Appendix to the Calcutta Gazette of May 30th, 1816, indicates the sense of the deep loss felt by the Government on account of this melancholy event:

"Fort William, May 24, 1816.

"His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has received with sentiments of the deepest concern the melancholy intelligence of the decease at Berhampore, on the 20th instant, of Lieutenant-General William Palmer, of the Honourable Company's Service.

"The character and distinguished Political Services of Lieutenant-General Palmer, have been repeatedly noticed by the Supreme Government, in the terms of the highest approbation and applause; and the loss must be felt with proportionate regret. His Lordship in Council, as a peculiar mark of the sense entertained by Government of the merits of this able and upright Public Officer and as a testimony of respect due to his memory, is pleased to direct, that 76 Minute Guns, corresponding with the age of the deceased, be fired this evening from the ramparts of Fort William, the Flag being advanced half-mast high."

Warren Hastings was singularly blessed with true and sincere friends—men who, in the time of need, furnished unmistakeable evidence of their affection in both words and deeds. One such, who stood by him at the moment of trial, was Johannes Matthias Ross. This gentleman was the Second Book-keeper of the Dutch Mint at Chinsura in 1754. In a letter dated 28th February 1757, J. Z. Holwell describes him as Chief of the Dutch Mint at Coriembabad. Later on, Ross appears to have returned to Chinsura as the Head of the Dutch Factory. He had already formed the closest intimacy with both Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, who visited him frequently.

In Europe, the Dutch and the English were about this time vying with each other for naval supremacy, and colonial aggrandisement. In July 1781 England went to war with Holland, and orders were issued to seize the Dutch ships and factories in the East Indies. It became the official duty of Hastings to do all in his power to wrest from the enemy the factory at Chinsura, which had been described by Thomas Bowrey at the close of the seventeenth century as "the largest and completest Factorie in Asia." Now, as a servant of the Dutch Company and the most responsible officer on the spot, it behoved Ross

to resist to the utmost of his ability an attack by the English. But he sacrificed the interests of his Government to his personal affection for Warren Hastings, and came to a secret understanding with his friend. "To spare Mr. Ross's feelings it was specially arranged that an overwhelming force should march upon Chinsura, and demand his surrender." Through some oversight, however, only one lieutenant and fourteen men presented themselves at the gate. This offended Ross's *amour propre*, and he retired into the factory and drew up the draw-bridges. He made no secret of the affront felt by him for this want of courtesy on the part of his friend and "refused to yield to anything less than a regiment of sepoys, which was accordingly dispatched from Chander-nagore, then in the hands of the English." Thus Chinsura was won without a drop of blood being shed. It may be noted in passing that the administration of the Government at Chinsura rested with the Director (Mr. Ross) and seven Members, who were subordinate to the administration at Batavia. For some time past it had come to the notice of the superior authorities at Batavia that the Chinsura administrators "were guilty of the greatest enormities and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty thrown open to their depredations." This may, to some extent at least, account for Ross's falling in so readily with the wishes of Warren Hastings. Ross sold his property within the next six months by private sale and returned to Europe, where he died the next year.

George Nesbitt Thompson seems to have come out to India unconnected with the Company's establishment. He was admitted as an Advocate of the Supreme Court in 1779, but does not appear to have adhered to the profession (3). Warren Hastings unofficially employed him to act as his Private Secretary in the place of Mr. Stephen Sullivan when the latter was mainly occupied with the duties of Judge-Advocate-General, and had besides to devote some of his time to his agency for victualling the British Fleet in the East Indies. In July 1781 Thompson accompanied the Governor-General to Benares where the troubles over the arrest of Raja Chait Singh seriously endangered Hastings' position until relief was afforded by the arrival of the battalions under Popham and Morgan.

Thompson contracted Hastings' friendship in a quite unforeseen manner. When Mr. Hastings' boat was wrecked near Colgong, it was to Thompson, who was then unknown to her and her husband, that she owed her deliverance. "To Mrs. Hastings we are indebted for our mutual friendship," wrote Hastings in 1801, "or rather to Providence, who made her personal danger the means of calling forth your humanity, and my gratitude for its exertion, when we were unknown to each other. You may have forgot this. It is fresh in my remembrance." The acquaintance thus begun matured into a life-long friendship: and Thompson's numerous letters bear witness to his extreme intimacy with Mrs. and Mr. Hastings (4).

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(3) He was, however, nominated by Hastings in January, 1784, to succeed Chauncy Lawrence as Junior Counsel to the Company.

(4) These letters, selected from the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum, have been printed, with notes, in *Bengal Past and Present*.

Thompson returned to England in 1789, and on July 30th, 1791, married at Marylebone Church, Catherine Mary, widow of Henry Vansittart, and a daughter of Mrs. Powney, who was an old Madras friend of the Hastings. The union was an unhappy one, and conjugal bliss was to Thompson an experience utterly unknown. "His monetary difficulties grew worse and worse," because in his efforts at retrenchment his wife would not co-operate. Her apathy and thoughtlessness were alone responsible for the pecuniary embarrassments which weighed so heavily upon him. When at last she left her husband and took away her daughters, leaving the sons to his care, he was constrained to requisition the good offices of Hastings and other friends to arrange a separation.

As the Private Secretary of Warren Hastings, Nesbitt Thompson grew familiar with the Governor-General, and the latter's unvarying kindness fostered in him an amount of regard and affection which went on increasing with the years. To several of Thompson's children both Warren Hastings and his wife stood sponsors. When Hastings bade adieu to Calcutta for good, Thompson accompanied him as far as Saugor where the *Berrington* was lying. He remained in charge of his master's pension-fund and of his Arab horses. Out of the former small allowances were paid to old servants and European protégés of the ex-Governor. In regard to the latter, Thompson once wrote: "I never pass a morning at Alipore without feeding Solymaun and the grey Buggy Horse with Bread." When the tedious trial of Warren Hastings came to its close, Thompson was at a loss for words to express his feelings adequately. In a letter to his Chief he observed: "I knew that Posterity would do you justice, but I had not dared to hope for it from the living." Writing again to Sir John D'Oyly in 1813 of "the triumph which our great friend has obtained over all his enemies," he felt immense gratification in believing that "he has not . . . one remaining. Those whom death has spared, remorse has converted into friends, and I am most perfectly convinced there is not at this moment a Man in England the worth of whose private and public character is more universally and indisputably admitted than his is."

We have so far dealt with some of the European friends of Warren Hastings. Among Indians, too, he had some staunch friends. One of these was Krishna Kanta Nandi—better known as Kanta Babu, the founder of the Kasimbazar Raj family. He was the great-grandson of one Kali Nandi, an inhabitant of village Shijla in the district of Burdwan, who came to Murshidabad and settled at Sripur near Kasimbazar as a dealer in silk *kuthne*. He had received a fair vernacular education and had also acquired a smattering of the English tongue. He entered the silk concern as an apprentice and, as soon as he had mastered the rudiments of the business, was appointed a *muharrir*, and was soon promoted to the office of a writer. It was in this capacity that he came into frequent contact with Warren Hastings, then Commercial Resident of the East India Company at Kasimbazar, and gradually rose to eminence under the auspices of the future Governor-General.

At this time Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, hearing of the lucrative business carried on in Kasimbazar, forgot that the factory had been established with the permission of the Murshidabad Government, and resolved to arrest the Commercial Resident with a view to extorting money from him. The settlement was seized and Hastings sent as a prisoner to Murshidabad, but he managed to escape while the Nawab was on his way to Calcutta. His recapture was ordered, and Hastings took counsel with Kanta Babu. The latter forthwith sheltered him in his house and arranged afterwards to have him taken in a boat down to Calcutta. Hastings did not forget this good office. On his appointment as Governor of Bengal in 1772, he sent for Kanta Babu and employed him as his *bangan*. About this time Kanta Babu was, directly or indirectly, the superintendent of several highly productive zamindaris. He accompanied Hastings in his march against Chait Singh, the Raja of Benares, and, when the Raja's palace was seized, saved the Ranis from indignity at the hands of the soldiers and officers who attempted to enter into the zenana with the object of plundering the jewels and treasure. On his return from Benares, Hastings bestowed on Kanta Babu a *jagir* in the district of Ghazipur and Azimgarh, named Doocha Behara, and obtained from the then Nawab Nazim of Bengal the title of Maharaja Bahadur for his son Lokenath. Kanta Babu had also received as a present the *Sangin Dalai* (Marble Hall) of Benares, which was removed and re-erected at the Kasimbazar House. The Governor-General had also bestowed several farms on Kanta Babu in contravention of the rules. This caused a good deal of recrimination in the Supreme Council later on, and formed indeed the subject of the 15th charge against Hastings at the time of his impeachment.

Kanta Babu died in *Paus*, 1195 B.S. (1788 A.D.), leaving vast property in Bengal, besides the *Jagir* in Ghazipur. Though possessed of little education, he was distinguished for his sagacity and tact in business affairs, and for his grasp of administrative and legislative questions. He possessed also many private virtues which endeared him to his neighbours and acquaintances.

Munni (Mani) Begum, literally, 'the Jewel Lady,' is said to have been born at Balkunda near Sikandra, and to have begun life as a dancing-girl at Delhi. She went to Murshidabad after the battle of Plassey and, while there, met Mir Jafar, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, whom she married. She was the mother of Nawab Nazim Najm-ud-daula and his brother Saif-ud-daula, and appears to have had frequent friendly correspondence with Hastings whom she regarded "as her son." On the death of Saif-ud-daula in 1772 she was, as the superior lady of the zenana, appointed regent during the minority of her stepson, Mubarak-ud-daula. Before making the appointment Hastings sought the opinion of Muhammad Reza Khan, the late Deputy Nazim, who on May 22, 1770, submitted the following well-reasoned suggestions: "The most honoured of all Mir Jafar's begums from the point of view of both family connection and manners was the mother of Sadiq Ali Khan. After the death of the latter as Najm-ud-daula became the heir to the Nizamat,

his mother rose to pre-eminence among the begums. This distinction she continued to enjoy during the time of both Najm-ud-daula and Saif-ud-daula, as she was the mother of the latter also. Now that Mubarak-ud-daula is the Nazim, the place of honour rightfully belongs to his mother, but it would be better if the two begums were given equal rank and authority." Hastings hesitated to abide by this advice and wrote back to say that the best possible solution, in his opinion, was that " Since Mubarak-ud-daula is the Nazim now, the real authority should be vested in his mother, but that as a matter of form and etiquette, she should treat the mother of the late Nawab Najm-ud-daula as her superior." On the 7th June following, the Governor wrote to Munni Begum: " In the time of the Nawab Najm-ud-daula and the Nawab Saif-ud-daula she was mistress of their households, while the mother of Mubarak-ud-daula lived in retirement. Now that Mubarak-ud-daula occupies the masnad of the Nazimat, it would be better for her to leave the control of his household to his mother. She will do herself great credit as well as please the English Sardars." In spite of his well guarded calculations, however, the choice he made did not save Hastings from an extraordinary amount of obloquy. But the Court of Directors in their letter bearing date April the 16th, 1773, approved it entirely.

In 1775 Nanda Kumar alleged that Hastings had been bribed into making this appointment. Although the charge was not proved, Munni Begum was removed from her guardianship by the Council, and allowed a pension of a lakh of rupees. She remained faithful to Hastings through all his troubles, and there is an affectionate letter from her in 1789, addressed " To my Beloved Daughter, the Light of mine Eyes who art Dear as my Soul, Mrs. Warren Hastings—May God preserve her in good Health!" in which she complains of the latter's silence. Her feelings were very tender towards Mrs. Hastings, to whom she made a present of some ivory furniture.

The author of the *Siyah-ul-Mutaqherin* describes Munni Begum as haughty and overbearing in character, but steadfast and faithful, never forsaking a friend. A woman of great capacity, she failed as a ruler owing to the practice she had of leaving the actual control of the Government to her chief slave, Itbar Ali Khan, instead of sitting behind a curtain and hearing complaints herself. Lord Valentia visited her at Murshidabad in 1804, and seeing her dimly through the purdah, described her as " short and stout, with large features and a loud voice." She had not left her own courtyard in the palace since her husband's death forty years ago. In 1805, when Palmer took up the command at Berhampore, he described the civilities he received from the Nabob and the Begums, especially Munni Begum, " who may at this time o' day accept my Devoirs without scandal." When Lord Valentia saw her, she confessed to being sixty-eight, but must have been older, for in 1813 Sweny Toone mentions that " Munny Begum died on January 10th, at the age of ninety-seven." She was buried at the Jafarganj Cemetery at Murshidabad.

## A History of the East India House.

**The East India House: Its History and Associations:** by William Foster, C.I.E.; with Thirty Illustrations. (London, John Lane, pp. x, 250, 12s. 6d. net).

**M**ANY books have been written on the subject of the wonderful adventure which placed a company of London traders in possession of the government of India: but no attempt has, we believe, been yet made to trace the history of the building in London in which John Company sat and made history. Mr. Foster is thoroughly qualified in every respect for the task, and the volume which he has compiled is not only a fascinating account, but also a distinct acquisition to our stock of historical knowledge. Mr. Foster modestly describes his work as a saunter along the by ways of history, but it is much more than that.

Opinions will always vary as to the respective merits of the government of India by the Company and by the Crown: but this much can be affirmed with confidence. Service in India became an honoured trust with families such as the Plowdens, the Bayleys, the Lushingtons, the Barwells, the Prinseps, the Cottons, the Egertons, the Thackerays, the Rivett-Carnacs and the Stracheys. From generation to generation the lamp was handed on. Now-a-days the competition-wallah comes and goes: and the man who can boast that he is the fourth, or even the third, of his line in India, is nearly as extinct as the great auk. The affection of the Company's servants for India was sincere and deep: for they came to stay: and as often as not, identified themselves with the manners and customs of the country (1). Distances were

(1) There is an amusing illustration of this in the Journal of Lady Nugent who visited Delhi in December 1812. When she and her husband (the Commander-in-chief) left the hospitable roof of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, they were accompanied by two civilians of eleven or twelve years' service. They were a strange pair, if Lady Nugent is to be believed. She writes:

December 24.—I shall now say a few words of Messrs. Gardner and Fraser, who are still of our party: they both wear immense whiskers, and neither will eat beef or pork, being as much Hindoos as Christians, if not more: they are both of them clever and intelligent, but eccentric: and having come to this country early, they have formed opinions and prejudices, that make them almost natives. In our conversations together, I endeavour to insinuate every thing that I think will have any weight with them. I talk of the religion they were brought up to, and of their friends who would be astonished and shocked at their whiskers, beards, etc.; all this is generally debated between us in a good natured manner, and I still hope they will think of it.

William Fraser (writer 1800) was the brother of James Baillie Fraser, the artist. He was at the time first assistant to the Resident at Delhi and subsequently become Resident. On March 22, 1835, he was shot dead, when out riding, at the instigation of the Nawab of Ferozepore who was hanged. The Hon'ble Edward Gardner (writer, 1801) was second assistant to the Resident. He was the fifth son of Admiral Lord Gardner, the first peer, and was afterwards Resident at Khatmandoo from 1816 until his retirement on annuity in 1823. He died as recently as 1861.



too great, and the dangers of the voyage in a ship of seven or eight hundred tons too real, to admit of a scamper home on three months' leave. Often the furlough taken preparatory to retirement was the first during a period of twenty-five years.

The names of the Directors of the Company have long since been forgotten, but they were important individuals in their day. Their sons and nephews would go out as writers and cadets to Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay or would become supracargoes on the China Establishment at Canton, and would come back in due course and take the family seat at the Board. The Directors were of all types—rich city merchants, retired civil servants and "Company's Captains" who had made the traditional three voyages in command of an Indiaman and returned with a fortune. We hear a great deal about these dignified personages in Farington's Diary; but little has been heard of the historic house in Leadenhall Street to which they repaired on Wednesdays and Fridays, which were the meeting days, for the despatch of business.

The "Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies" (to give them their original title) first found their way in 1638 to the plot of ground in Leadenhall Street where they were to remain for the remainder of their existence. On the foundation of the Company in 1600 accommodation was found in a part of the mansion of its Governor, Sir Thomas Smythe, which was situated in Philpot Lane, Fenchurch Street. There it remained for twenty-one years and, for another seventeen, occupied the well-known building in Bishopsgate known as Crosby House. The lease expiring in 1638, the Earl of Northampton to whom the property belonged demanded terms of renewal to which the Company declined to agree. Suitable premises were not readily available; but Sir Christopher Clitherow, (2) who had just been elected Governor, offered the use of his own house, and thither the Company removed at the end of October or the beginning of November 1638. Ten years later the adjoining house which belonged to the Earl of Craven was acquired on lease and henceforth it became the permanent abode of the East India Company, although it was not until May 1733 that the property passed finally and completely into the Company's hands.

This early India House was, in the words of Macaulay "an edifice of timber and plaster, rich with quaint carving and lattice work of the Elizabethan age. Above the windows was a painting which represented a fleet of merchantmen tossing on the waves. The whole was surmounted by a colossal wooden seaman, who between two dolphins looked down on the crowds in Leadenhall Street." This painting finds mention in Ned Ward's *London Spy* (1698). "Passing along Leadenhall Street I saw some ships

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(2) The portrait of Sir Christopher Clitherow by Marc Geerarts, which Mr. Foster reproduces, was sold at the Boston House sale on July 4, 1922, for £236 5s. Boston House, Brentford, had been in the possession of the Stracey-Clitherow family since 1670, and the other pictures sold included examples of Hogarth, Romney, Zoffany, and A. W. Devis.

painted upon a great wall, which occasioned me to enquire of my school-fellow what place that was. He told me 'twas the house belonging to the East India Company, which are a corporation of men with long heads and deep purposes."

We get an earlier description from Samuel Pepys who tells us that on April 17, 1661 he "saw a picture of the ships and other fleets this morning set up before the East Indy House which are well done." This was on the occasion of the coronation of King Charles the Second who on May 29 of the previous year had entered London "with a triumph of above twenty thousand Horse and Foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy." The services rendered to the Company by the Lord Protector, who was now given the title of Usurper, were forgotten, and a further grant of privileges was humbly sought. But it was Cromwell who had saved the Company from dissolution, for at the beginning of 1657 they had resolved to sell all their factories and privileges and to abandon the Indian trade. The Protector granted a Charter which passed the "Particular Seal" in 1657, but no sooner had King Charles entered upon his own than this document was so effectively suppressed that not even one copy of it can be discovered to-day.

The internal arrangements of the first India House are well described by Mr. Foster. On the eastern side was the General Court Room or Great Hall in which periodical sales were held, special platforms being erected on each occasion. The ordinary meetings of the "Committees" (3) seem at first to have been held in this apartment: but later on a little parlour was "ordered to be made more commodious," and it thereupon became the Court Room as distinguished from the General Court Room. The clock which in August 1714 was ordered to be "placed in the Court Room and made to go a month and the Chairman or the Deputy to have the keeping of the key," may now be seen in the Treasury at the India Office. The clerks' office occupied not only the remainder of the ground-floor, but also almost the whole of the floor above, while the garrets were appropriated to records and other lumber.

The early Court Minutes have been thoroughly examined by Mr. Foster and the results are available in other publications. But there is one interesting entry of which Mr. Foster makes mention in this present volume and which we may be permitted to quote:

The Court having formerly resolved to have a sermon and a meeting to returne thanks to Almighty God for the safe arrivall of the shippes from India, but as yett have defarr'd the same, did now resolve to have a thanks-giving sermon at this parish church on Thursday come sennight next in the forenoone, and to dine at the Shippe Tavern in Bishopsgate Street.

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(3) The original charter placed the management of the Company in the hands of a Governor and twenty-four "Committees," or Directors, as they were afterwards termed.

The minute is dated August 28, 1649 and the service was duly held at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft on September 6. The preacher was the Reverend Edward Terry who had accompanied Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to India as Chaplain and later on published in 1655 an account of it under the title of "A Voyage to East India Observed by Edward Terry then Chaplain to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Row Knt., Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul." The sermon itself was afterwards published under the title of "The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving."

The drafting of letters to the Presidencies in those days was largely conducted by the Directors and often by the Governor himself, and much pungency was apt to be introduced. Mr. Foster quotes from a despatch of September 1697, which was addressed to Fort Saint George.

You are ready and frequent in reprehending our conduct and if you could advise us to mend it we should be willing to hear you or any other well minded person. But your exceptions to our conduct are so very impertinent and cilly that we wonder the lower end of your Councill are not ashamed to sett their hands to such slight arguments.

The temper of the "Committees" was soon to be more sorely tried by events at home. In 1698 their monopoly of trade was threatened by a body of outside merchants who styled themselves "The English Company Trading to the East Indies." Their efforts at incorporation were successful, the condition imposed being a two million loan, and the subscription list was opened at Mercers' Hall on January 14, 1698. The first entry in the volume preserved at the India Office is one of £10,000, subscribed by the four Lords of the Treasury on behalf of King William the Third. The royal example was enthusiastically followed: Macaulay has described the rush of investors to inscribe their names. On September 5 of the same year, a royal charter was granted, establishing the new company. Previous charters had been granted at the will of the sovereign but it was now stated that the grant was in accordance with an Act of the legislature. One clause in the Act required the company to appoint a chaplain for every vessel of 500 tons or upwards. It is regrettable to be obliged to add that for the next 75 years, the Directors carefully abstained from chartering more than 499 tons in any one ship.

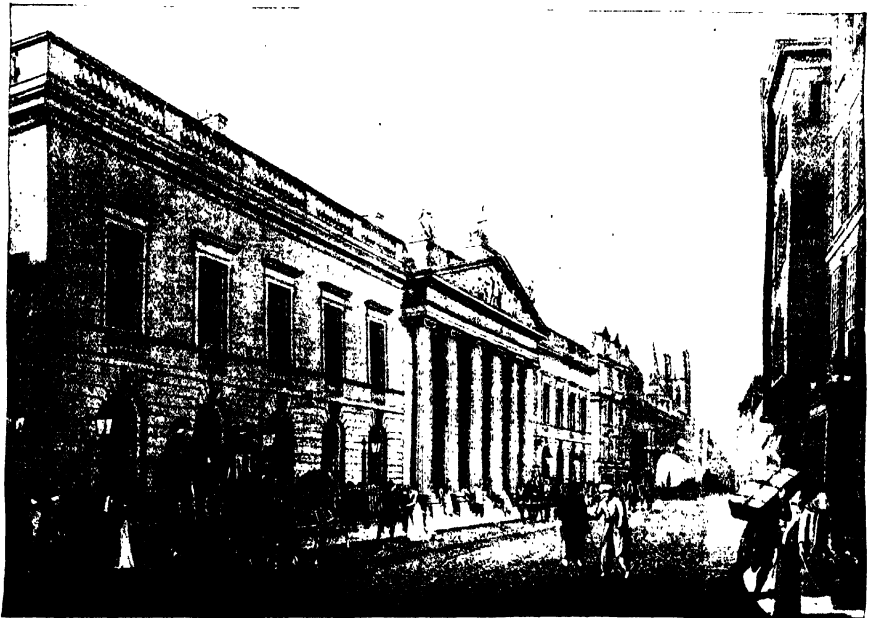
A bitter struggle followed between the two Companies and it was not until 1702 that they agreed to amalgamate under the title of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies." A period of seven years was allowed to each company to wind up its separate stock: and the first Court of Directors of the United Company was held on March 23, 1709. During its brief period of separate existence, the Directors of the New Company sat at Skinners' Hall on Dowgate Hill, while occasionally meetings were held at Leathersellers' Hall and Merchant Taylors' Hall.

By 1725 the accommodation at Craven House had become insufficient, in spite of extensions which had been undertaken in various directions. The rebuilding of the premises was resolved upon: the opportunity being taken



*By permission of Messrs. John Lane, Limited.*

THE INDIA HOUSE : BEFORE REBUILDING.—1796.



*By permission of Messrs. John Lane, Limited.*

THE INDIA HOUSE : AFTER REBUILDING.—1799.  
(From Water-colour drawings by Thomas Malton, at the India Office.)



to purchase the Ship and Bell Taverns and other adjoining premises. The new India House was completed in January 1729. An illustration of it as it appeared in the year 1766 may be seen in Entick's *History of London* in the form of an engraving by T. Simpson: and this is reproduced by Mr. Foster. It was a plain four-storied stone building with a frontage of seventy feet which was altogether disproportionate to the depth of the building. This feature attracted the attention of contemporary observers. "Don Manoel Gonzales" who wrote in 1731 says: "On the south side of Leadenhall Street and also a little to the eastward of Leadenhall stands the East India House, lately magnificently built, with a stone front to the street: but the front being very narrow does not make an appearance answerable to the grandeur of the house within, which stands upon a great deal of ground, the offices and store-house admirably well contrived, and the public hall and the committee room scarce inferior to anything of the like nature in the City." A later account may be found in James Noorthouck's *New History of London* (1773). There we are told that the front "which is but narrow is supported by six Doric pilasters on a rustic basement story: there are two series of plain windows in the inter-columniations, and the top is finished with a balustrade":

It has been remarked that the appearance of the building is nowise suited to the opulence of the Company whose servants exercise sovereign authority in their Indian territories and live there in princely state. The house, however, though small in front, extends far backward and is very spacious having large rooms for the use of the Directors and offices for the clerks. It has a spacious hall and courtyard for the reception of those who have business and who attend on the Company on Court days. There also belong to it a garden, with warehouses in the back part toward Lime Street to which there is a gate for the entrance of carts to bring in goods. These warehouses were rebuilt in a very handsome manner in the year 1725, and are now greatly enlarged. The Company have likewise warehouses in Leadenhall Street, Fenchurch Street, Seething Lane and the Stillyard, besides cellars for pepper under the Royal Exchange.

It is worthy of note that much of the furniture which was purchased by the Company at this time is still in use at the India Office. In particular, the beautifully-carved walnut chair, now occupied by the Secretary of State when he presides over the meetings of the Council, belongs either to this or to a slightly subsequent period. It has a high back surmounted by a crowned head of Neptune while on the red velvet panel the arms of the East India Company are embroidered in coloured silks and silver thread, and bears the well known legend "Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliae." Again, the centrepiece of the magnificent fireplace in the same Council room is "a piece of statuary marble for the chimney in the Court room," for which a hundred pounds was ordered to be paid to Michael Rysbrack the Flemish sculptor on April 22, 1730. It represents Britannia seated on the sea-shore receiving the offerings of India, while two female figures standing behind, one with

a camel, the other with a lion, typify Asia and Africa respectively. On the right is a river god who stands for the Thames and in the background are ships going out to sea. Lastly we have the six oil paintings which represent "Fort William in Bengall," Fort St. George, Bombay, Tellicherry, Cape Town and St. Helena, the most important settlements of the time in the East Indies and on the road thither. These paintings are now hung in the Military Committee room. Their purchase is thus recorded in the Court Minutes of November 1, 1732: "Order'd that the Secretary do pay Mr. George Lambert £94. 10s. for 6 pictures of the Forts etc., for the Court Room at Fifteen Guineas per picture as per agreement." George Lambert (1710-1765) was the first President of the Society of Arts and Samuel Scott (d. 1772) who painted the ships was a friend of Hogarth and a marine artist of some note. The series were engraved by Gerard Vandergucht about 1736 and the prints are scarce (4).

The third India House came into being during the last years of the eighteenth century. At that time the Company had ceased to be a great trading body. But its home continued to be the same insignificant building. The only outward manifestation of the change that was going on in the character and functions of the Company was the addition of a few statues and oil paintings. Visitors to the India Office will have noticed the statues by Peter Scheemakers of Lord Clive, Stringer Lawrence, and Admiral Pocock, which stand (as does the statue of Lord Cornwallis in the eastern loggia of the Victoria Memorial Hall) in Roman costume. These were commissioned in 1760 and at their completion four years later were placed in the southern, northern, and central niches in the General Court Room, a semi-circular building with a dome. In 1784 a statue of Sir Eyre Coote by Thomas Banks was added, and in 1798 another statue of Lord Cornwallis by John Bacon was placed in position (5). After the battle in Aboukir Bay which finally shattered such designs as Napoleon may have had on India, Sir Francis Baring proposed that the Company should "place the hero of the Nile by the side of the heroes of the Ganges." The Court of Directors preferred however to recognise the Admiral's services by a gift of ten thousand pounds and Nelson's letter of acknowledgment is still to be seen in the India Office Library (6).

The reconstruction of the building took two years. The new facade was about two hundred feet in length and sixty feet high. It was constructed in the classical style with an Ionic portico of six fluted columns. The tympanum of the pediment was filled with a group of figures designed by John Bacon. George the Third was depicted in Roman costume, and was supposed to be

(4) A reproduction of the print of Fort William was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Volume XXVI, on page 132.

(5) The statue of Lord Wellesley by Weekes was not added until 1845.

(6) In his letter Nelson makes reference to the fact that in his younger days he had himself served in the East Indies.

defending the commerce of the East. His Majesty was represented holding his sword in his left hand and for some obscure reason the City barge figured in the background. On the apex of the pediment was Britannia sitting in state upon a lion and bearing a spear surmounted by the cap of liberty. Above the two corners of the pediment were Europe on a horse and Asia on a camel. The rest of the façade was severely plain, with a double row of windows and a projecting cornice crowned by a parapet. On the iron railings in front were placed half a dozen stands for lamps. The building, it will be seen, covered a larger space than its predecessor. Additional land had been gradually procured and additional warehouses and new pay offices had been erected. The changes now introduced included the new central corridor leading from the entrance vestibule, a new pay office, some fresh committee rooms and a new sale room which after the withdrawal of the Company's trading privileges in 1833 became part of the Museum. The old General Court Room where sales were held prior to the rebuilding was now exclusively used as a meeting place for the Court of Proprietors.

This Court, which was also known as the General Court, was composed of the owners of India stock. Under the Act of 1773 the possession of a thousand pounds gave one vote, three thousand pounds entitled the owner to two votes, six thousand pounds to three votes and ten thousand pounds to four votes. Technically persons with a holding of five hundred pounds were entitled to be present at the meetings. All persons might be members of this Court, and it was the boast of the Company that no distinctions of sex, nationality or religion were imposed. The principal duty of this Court was to elect the Directors, frame by-laws and declare the dividend. It was also empowered to confer a public mark of approbation on any individual whose services might appear to merit distinction. In early times instances occurred where the acts of the Directors were revised; but latterly the functions of the Court of Proprietors became deliberative. The meetings had much the appearance of those of the House of Commons. The Chairman of the Court of Directors presided and questions were put to him as through the Speaker. The number of members of the Court of Proprietors in 1825 was 2003. In 1843 it was 1880, of whom 333 had two votes, 64 three votes and 44, four votes.

The building now erected survived until 1861 when it was pulled down, and the site sold to a syndicate of which Sir Thomas Brassey was a member, and which erected a large block of offices in its place. The doom of the Company had been pronounced in 1858, just two hundred and fifty years after its first ship reached the coast of India and little more than a century after the Battle of Plassey. Its powers and duties were transferred to a Secretary of State for India, who was assisted by a Council, but the Company itself was not actually dissolved until June 1, 1874. Under the Act of 1833 the shareholders had been guaranteed an annuity of £630,000 a year for a minimum period of forty years and these rights continued accordingly. But the



Company itself was reduced to an establishment of a Chairman, five Directors, a Secretary and a clerk, with offices first in Moorgate Street and subsequently in Pancras Lane. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State, took possession of the India House at the beginning of September, 1858, but in the autumn of 1860 migrated to temporary premises in what was known until the War as the Westminster Palace Hotel. It was not until the summer of 1867 that the Secretary of State and his establishment moved into the present India Office.

Mr. Foster has much of course to say regarding the notable personages who from time to time were connected with the establishment at the India House. Charles Lamb is no doubt the best known of these to the outside public. But mention is also made of men such as Thomas Love Peacock, the author of once famous novels, who was Chief Examiner from 1837 to 1856, Edward Strachey, second son of Sir Henry Strachey, Clive's Secretary, who had returned to England from India in 1811 (7) and was appointed examiner in the judicial branch in 1819, James Mill who was at the same time appointed revenue examiner, and his son John Stuart Mill, whose petition to Parliament against the abolition of the Company was pronounced by Earl Grey "to be the ablest state paper he had ever read." Clerkships in the India House were filled by the nominations of the Directors. Nothing in the shape of a searching examination was prescribed. The applicant was required to assure "Your Honours that he had been educated in writing and accounts and would promise to behave with the greatest diligence and fidelity." A certificate of attainments and character from his late schoolmaster was also required; and as a rule stress would be laid upon the "mild and docile" disposition of the candidate. At sixty-five years of age a clerk who had been forty years in the employment of the Company could claim three-fourths of his pay as a retiring allowance, while if he succeeded in completing fifty years' service he was accorded full pay for the rest of his days. It is on record that Peter Auber, who was Secretary from 1829 to 1836, entered the office at 16, quitted it at 66 on a pension of £2,000 a year, and lived until he was 96, thus drawing from the Company £60,000 in the shape of pension besides what he had received as pay during his long period of service. Mr. Foster tells another story of a young clerk who found himself being promoted with unexpected rapidity. At first he was surprised, but presently discovered that each time he received a step the clerk below him was promoted also, and that clerk happened to be the son of the Secretary.

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(7) Mr. Foster quotes an extract from Sir Edward Strachey's *Talks at a Country House*, in which it is said of a "retired Bengal Judge," who was, no doubt, the elder Edward Strachey, that "such was the force of habit that, when he had occasion to take notes of an important trial at the Somerset assizes, he actually wrote them in Persian, rather than in the English words in which the evidence was given, just as he had done, many years before, when trying dakoits at Jessore." Edward Strachey (writer, 1792) was Judge of Jessore in 1807. See the article on "Clive and the Strachey Family" in the present volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVII, Part I, pp. 22 to 33).

As regards the Directors, the practice had been, previous to the year 1773, for the 24 Directors to be elected every year in the month of April. By the Act of 1773 it was provided that six Directors should be chosen for four years, six for three years, six for two and six for one year, and that at every annual election thereafter six new Directors were to be chosen for the term of four years and no more. In 1777, the second Wednesday in April was fixed as the date of the annual election. In the event of a vacancy by death or otherwise another Director was chosen within forty days of the declaration of the vacancy and succeeded to the unexpired portion of his predecessor's term of office. The elections were often of an animated character: as witness the following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of Saturday, September 26, 1807:

East India House Election took place on the 8th April; such a contest was never before witnessed,—12 candidates for 6 vacancies—upwards of 2,000 Proprietors balloted.

The Scrutineers did not declare the result till the quarter past seven o'clock on Thursday morning, when it was announced as follows:—

Charles Grant, Esqr.	1523.
Sweny Toone, Esqr.	1499.
William Thornton, Esqr.	1307.
George Smith, Esqr.,	1239.
Campbell Marjoribanks, Esqr.	1121.
John Jackson, Esqr.,	1020.
William Devaynes, Esqr.	994.
John Bannerman, Esqr.	738.
Robert Williams, Esqr.,	679.
Thomas Welsh, Esqr.,	621.
Eyles Irwin, Esqr.,	621.
Kennard Smith, Esqr.	526.

The first six were, of course, successful (8).

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(8) Of the unsuccessful candidates William Devaynes had been a Director from 1770 to 1805 and was Chairman in 1780, 1785, 1789, 1793, and 1794: John Alexander Bannerman obtained a seat later in 1807 and sat till 1816: and Robert Williams was a Director from 1809 to 1812. Eyles Irwin (1750-1817) had been a Madras civil servant. He was suspended in 1776 for refusing to recognize the deposition of Lord Pigot, but returned in 1781 with Lord Macartney and accompanied him on his mission to China in 1792. "Coll. Welsh" is mentioned in the Farington Diary (June 4, 1806) as having "made a fortune in the East Indies." Three of the six elected were old stagers. Charles Grant was a Director for 26 years (1797 to 1823) and was three times Chairman (1805, 1809, 1815): George Smith sat at the Board for thirty-five years (1797 to 1832) and was Deputy Chairman in 1805: and Sweny Toone (Director from 1800 to 1830), had been commandant of Warren Hastings' bodyguard in 1773 and came home with him in 1785. The three newcomers were Campbell Marjoribanks, (Director from 1807 to 1840, and Chairman in 1819, 1825 and 1833), John Jackson (Director from 1807 to 1820) and William Thornton (subsequently known as Astell) who was Director from 1807 to 1845, and four times Chairman (1810, 1824, 1828, and 1830).

The qualification of a Director was a holding in East India stock of the value of £2,000 and the salaries were regulated by the by-laws. In the earlier years of the Company each Director received £150 per annum: in 1794 the amount was increased to £300 and in 1854 to £500 a year. The Chairman of the Court and the Deputy Chairman received an extra £200 a year: but this sum was in 1794 increased to £500, and again in 1854 to £1,000. Although, as we have seen, six of the Directors were changed annually and no one was permitted to hold the office for more than four years at a time, the appointment was practically for life (9). It was always arranged that although when his four years were up a Director must stand out for twelve months, his name would remain on the house-list and at the end of the year he would be brought back by the united votes of the other Directors and their friends added to those he could himself command.

The value of the patronage at the disposal of each Director was estimated at no less than £5,000 to £8,000 a year. The Company's factory at Canton was practically filled with sons and relatives of Directors (10). The first and most essential preliminary towards obtaining a writership or a cadetship was a nomination from a Director. The candidate was then required to make a formal application to the Court accompanied by evidence of the date of birth and other particulars. It was sufficient to say that the petitioner had been "Educated in Writing and Accounts" and that he "humbly hoped himself Qualified to serve your Honors Abroad."

If summoned to attend a Court, the Captain of an East Indiaman was enjoined to wear his full-dress uniform and the same rule was imposed upon

(9) The record in this respect was easily held by William Wigram, M.P., who was Director from 1809 to 1812, and again from 1818 to 1853: a total period of forty-one years.

(10) The following is the list of the Company's servants on the China Establishment at Canton in 1805:

Select Committee of Supracargoes.

Samuel Peach, Esqr.,  
George Sparkes, Esqr.,

Thomas Charles Pattle, Esqr.  
John William Roberts, Esqr.

Supracargoes.

William Bramston.  
John Fullarton Elphinstone.  
William Baring.

William Parry.  
Joseph Cotton, junior.  
Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.

Theophilus John Metcalfe.

Every one of these, except William Bramston and Sir George Staunton, was the son or near relative of a Director. Samuel Peach (senior) was Director from 1773 to 1784: Joseph Sparkes from 1773 to 1789: Thomas Pattle from 1787 to 1795: John Roberts, with brief intervals, from 1764 to 1808: the Hon'ble William Fullarton Elphinstone from 1791 to 1824: Sir Francis Baring from 1779 to 1810: Joseph Cotton (senior) from 1795 to 1823: and Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe from 1789 to 1812. No less than three Parrys were members of the Court: Thomas, from 1783 to 1806: Edward, from 1800 to 1826: and Richard, from 1815 to 1816. Staunton was the son of Sir George Leonard Staunton, who was Secretary to Lord Macartney, when Governor of Fort Saint George from 1781 to 1785, and accompanied him on his mission to China in 1792.

military officers. Every civil and military servant of the Company moreover upon first appointment, and when at home on leave, made it a point to wait upon the Director to whom he owed his nomination. The influence exercised by the Chairman of the Company who held office for a year was great. Mr. Foster quotes a story related by the late Mr. Innes Shand in his "Days of the Past." On one occasion after a shooting party in Scotland he heard one of the party who happened to be the Chairman of the Company mention casually at lunch that "his mind was made up, that the Viceroy must come back, and that he was ready to carry the war into the enemy's camp." Says Mr. Shand: "He spoke as if he had the Directorate in his pocket and I verily believe he had, for he was a man of no ordinary sagacity and of indomitable will." The reference is clearly to John Shepherd, Chairman in 1844, who had once commanded an East Indiaman (11), and to his recall of Lord Ellenborough in face of the opposition of both Queen Victoria and Sir Robert Peel. Another Chairman, who was Director for twenty-six years and (like Shepherd) was three times elected to the Chair, had such an ascendancy over his colleagues that in the words of Sir James Stephen he was "regarded at the commencement of the nineteenth century as the real ruler of the rulers of the East, the Director of the Directors." This was no other than Charles Grant whose name is so closely connected with the Old Mission Church in Calcutta and who opposed the schemes of Wellesley just as Laurence Sullivan had opposed the policy of Clive.

The following entry from Farington's Diary has already been quoted in these columns: but it is worth repeating by reason of the picture drawn of the Directors by one of themselves—Samuel Davis, the artist civilian (of Benares hogspoor fame) and friend and patron of Thomas and William Daniell, who was a member of the Court from 1810 until his death in 1819 (12) and whose watercolour sketches of Indian scenery form so attractive a feature of the Victoria Memorial collection:

September 17, 1811.—At eleven o'clock I left [Lestock Wilson's house at] Epping Grove with Mr. and Mrs. Davies [sic] being accommodated with a seat in their carriage. Mr. Davies being an

(11) Captains of East Indiamen were personages of great importance. Even in the early years of the last century they sat as Members of Council at the different Presidencies, and were saluted by the forts on their arrival.

(12) Davis was unsuccessful at his first attempt to secure election. On April 11, 1810, Farington makes the following entry in one of his small note-books:

This day an election of a new Director took place at the India House:—

For Mr. Twining	...	1359
Mr. Davis	...	581
Mr. H. Pelly	...	491
		<hr/>
		2431

Richard Twining kept his seat on the Board till 1816. Davis was duly elected on October 10, 1810, upon the death of Sir Francis Baring. For some account of Davis see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 11, 12: Vol. XXVI, p. 93.

India Director, I had some conversation with Him, respecting the manner in which the Directors carry on business. He said that all business is done by Committees. The secret Committee which has the care of all the political despatches which require secret consideration, consists of three Members, viz., the Chairman : the Deputy Chairman : and one other Director. The days for meeting established for the Directors are Wednesdays and Fridays : but more particularly the former on which day a Dinner is provided at the London Tavern to which the [Directors] adjourn after business is concluded : when they meet in the morning, the first business is to read papers, after which Committees are formed for the purpose of doing what is necessary,—there are Committees of Shipping, of Correspondence—of Warehouses, etc., etc.—The appointment of Chairman is not by rotation, but by election, and a Director may pass His life witht. being in that situation.

The dinners at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street were famous. They were paid for out of the funds of the Company, and cost, at times, upon state occasions, as much as £300. But in 1834 it was ordered that "the practice of having dinners at the taverns for members of the Court on Court days be discontinued," and the Chairman was authorized instead to provide "occasional entertainments at an expence not exceeding £2000 per annum" to such officers and servants of the Company as "may have claims to this mark of attention."

It would be unjust to conclude this review of a wholly admirable book without some allusion to the equally admirable illustrations which are so liberally provided. The reproductions are excellent, as may be seen from the two specimens which have been most courteously placed at our disposal by the publishers. The one represents the India House, as it was before the rebuilding in 1798 : and the other the building which survived until 1861. Both are taken from water-colour drawings by Thomas Malton which are preserved at the India Office (13).

H. E. A. C.

(13) Farington records the death, on March 24, 1804, of Thomas Malton, and tells us that "His eldest Son is a Cadet in India." On December 17, 1795, William Hamilton, R.A., informs him that "Malton proposes to paint views of London : in order to qualify for the Academy as a painter." He had endeavoured to obtain election as A.R.A. on the strength of being an architect but was objected to as being only a "draughtsman of buildings." When, however, Turner exhibited at the Academy in 1795, Farington observes (June 4) that he "was a pupil to Malton."

## The Wreck of the "Charles Eaton."

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IN the article on "Memories of Dum Dum," which was published in Vol. XXVI of *Bengal Past and Present* (Part I, pp. 37—38), some account was given of the wreck in Torres Straits of the barque *Charles Eaton* and of the adventures of two survivors. The story is there told in the following terms:—

In 1833 Captain [Thomas] D'Oyly [of the Bengal Artillery] with his wife and son, a boy of two years of age named Charles [sic] sailed from Calcutta [sic] in the barque "Charles Eaton." This vessel was wrecked in the Torres Straits and all the passengers and crew were supposed to have been lost. In the following year however, it was rumoured that five of the crew had escaped and that two more were believed to be in the hands of natives. Enquiries were made by Commander W. Igglesdon of the H. E. I. Coy's ship "Tigris" and it was discovered that over forty of the crew and passengers had been murdered and eaten by the Cannibal Islanders of the Boydaney, one of the Six Sisters group. The only survivors of those who fell into their hands were an apprentice lad John Ireland aged 10 and Charles [sic] D'Oyly aged 3; these children had been preserved by the women, and had been carried off by the natives of Murray Island from whom they were purchased by Captain Lewis of the Colonial schooner "Isabella." Little D'Oyly is said to have parted with great reluctance from his sable naked foster mothers and nurses.

The only relic of the unfortunate passengers and crew that was discovered on Boydaney was the gigantic figure of a man's head ornamented with forty two human skulls some of which had been terribly fractured and exposed to the action of fire.

Doubt was cast upon the story, which was quoted from the issue for January 31, 1890 of the "Dragon," the regimental magazine of the Buffs: inasmuch as Captain Thomas D'Oyly was described as "a younger son of Sir John D'Oyly [sixth] Bart. and brother of the then [seventh] Baronet, Sir Charles D'Oyly, senior member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium;" and it was further stated that "Little Charles D'Oyly so wonderfully preserved succeeded his uncle in the baronetcy and became a Major General in the Indian Army:" whereas General Sir Charles D'Oyly, who succeeded as ninth baronet in 1869 and died as recently as 1900, was actually the eldest son of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the eighth baronet and the second of that name, by his first wife Charlotte Thompson, the daughter of Hastings' private secretary, George Nesbitt Thompson, and half sister of Henry Vansittart.

Attention was however, subsequently called by Mr. Francis Edwards to the fact that a book by W. E. Brockett was published in Sydney, N. S. W., in 1836, giving a description of the rescue of young D'Oyly and his companion. The book is rare, but there is a copy in the British Museum Library: and Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., has been good enough to make a number of extracts

from it. They have been arranged in chronological order, and not necessarily in the order in which they have been taken from the book. The full title of the book is as follows: "Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits, in search of the Survivors of the 'Charles Eaton' in His Majesty's Colonial Schooner 'Isabella,'" C. M. Lewis, Commander: by William Edward Brockett: Sydney: 1836." (pp. vii, 54, with illustrations).

The *Charles Eaton* was lost in Torres Straits on July 29, 1834. "The *Isabella*, Colonial Schooner, was sent by His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke, with the humane intention of rendering assistance to the survivors of the wreck." She sailed from Sydney on June 3, 1836, and on June 18 anchored off Murray's Island. Here two boys only were recovered:—the one an "older boy" of the name of John Ireland, and "a young child named William D'Oyly; he was son of Captain D'Oyly, who was going to join his regiment in India."

"The passengers on board the *Charles Eaton*, included Captain D'Oyly, his wife and two children (one of whom was received from Murray's Island) and a Bengal Native servant in attendance upon Mrs. D'Oyly."

From the statement of the older boy (Ireland) it appeared that after remaining a fortnight on the wreck, the people on board had put off on two rafts. On the first were nine persons, and on the second seventeen. Captain D'Oyly, Mrs. D'Oyly, and her two children, and the Bengal servant were on the first raft: and with the exception of William D'Oyly, were all massacred.

"The older boy informed me that William D'Oyly was snatched from his mother's arms, and that they killed her in a brutal manner. The natives of Murray's Island seemed to be very partial to the child, and when the Captain told the older boy to bring him off in one of their canoes, they said that he was crying, and would not leave the black woman, who had charge of him. They made other excuses of a similar description before they allowed the child to depart. At last they were persuaded to bring him off. On coming along side, he appeared much burnt with the sun; he could not speak a single word of English, but he spoke the native language with fluency. The natives had not disfigured the boys in the least degree. The little boy cried bitterly on being given up by the natives. He soon, however, forgot the black companions, and became, perhaps, more partial to us than he had ever been to them."

The Hon'ble East India Company's Brig *Tigris* came to anchor near by, and sent a boat across. "The Captain of her (the *Tigris*) wished to take the little boy to Calcutta, to his grandfather, but in consequence of the command of His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke, Captain Lewis refused to comply with his request." On October 11, 1836, the *Isabella* returned to Sydney.

The industry of Mr. Oldham has discovered another narrative of the tragedy in the British Museum Library. This is a small octavo book (undated) of twelve pages only, including the title page and is entitled:—

## THE SHIPWRECKED ORPHANS.

A true narrative, detailing the shipwreck and sufferings of John Ireland, and two little boys, George and William D'Oyly, who, with their father and mother, and thirty-two other persons, were wrecked in the "Charles Eaton," in the year 1834, on an Island in the South Seas, inhabited by savages.

Written by John Ireland, one of the four survivors of the ill-fated crew.

Published by S. Thompson, 51, Gloucester St., Oakley St., Lambeth.

Elliott, Printer, 14 Holywell St., Strand.

The *Charles Eaton* is stated (p. 3) to have "left dock," by which the port of London is presumably intended, on December 19, 1833. She arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on May 1, 1834: and "set sail on 4th for Hobarts Town in Australia, upwards of twenty thousand miles from England, where we arrived on the 16th of June; at this place we bade farewell to our young emigrants and some of the passengers."

"On the 8th of July, Captain and Mrs. D'Oyly, with their two sons, George and William, the one about seven or eight years old, and the other about fourteen months, came on board as passengers to Sourabaya, intending to go from thence to Calcutta, in the West [sic] Indies. William, the youngest, was my unfortunate companion." (p. 5). Bad weather was experienced on August 15, "wind very high and water getting rough:" and the ship struck on a reef "near the entrance of Torres Straits," called the "Detached Reef." The bottom was stove in, and in a short time she became "a perfect wreck." Some three or four miles distant another ship was wrecked and abandoned.

"At the time of the vessel striking, Mrs. D'Oyly was taking coffee in the cabin, and her infant was asleep in one of the berths, little dreaming to what future ills his weak and helpless frame was to be exposed. The distracted mother instantly ran on deck in alarm; and I went into the cabin, where I saw the poor child washed out of its berth, and crying on the floor. I took him up in my arms and carried him to Mrs. D'Oyly, who, after that time, for the seven long days which were occupied in making the raft, could not by any means be persuaded to give up her dear charge." (p. 6). "Mrs. D'Oyly and her husband gave every stimulus to exertion; and the kind manner in which they requested us to make use of any of their clothes, part of which were the only ones saved, I shall ever remember with gratitude." (p. 7).

The raft when completed was found not to be able to support all, "so the greater part of us returned to the wreck, leaving upon the raft the Captain, Mr. Moore; the Surgeon, Mr. Grant; Captain and Mrs. D'Oyly, and their 2 children; their black nurse, a native of India; and Mr. Armstrong and 2 seamen." In the night the raft cut adrift, and another was made in a week, upon which the remainder embarked and left the ship. After three days and nights, a group of islands was sighted. A canoe with ten or twelve Indians coming up, all those who were on the raft eventually got into it, and were landed "on an island, which we afterwards found the natives called



Boydan. We could plainly see the main land, about 14 or 15 miles distant. The island was very small." Ireland then (p. 10) describes the murder of his companions. One of the natives attacked him with a knife, but Ireland gripped it so tightly that the man could not effect his purpose. He escaped into the sea, and, after swimming about for a while returned on shore: when the same native came up to him again in a friendly manner and gave him food. Next morning, the native took Ireland and the other ship's boy, John Sexton, who were the only survivors of the party, to another island, carrying with them the heads of their victims.

"On landing, I saw Captain D'Oyly's two children, and a Newfoundland dog, called Portland, which belonged to the ship. I asked the elder, George, what had become of his father and mother. He told me that they were both killed by the blacks, as well as all those who went away in the first raft." (p. 12).

There is no further mention of George, nor is any information given as to his fate. Ireland continues:

Near the huts a pole was stuck in the ground, around which were hung the heads of our unfortunate companions. Among them I plainly recognised Mrs. D'Oyly's for they had left part of the hair on it..... After remaining on this island rather better than a week, a canoe, with some of the natives of Murray's island, came there. They bought us of our captors for two bunches of bananas. We set sail and experienced a little rough weather on our passage, but arrived in London without accident in August. (p. 12).

Nothing is said as to the arrival of the *Isabella* and the *Tigris*.

The book is illustrated by three sketches. The first represents the pole with the heads hanging around it, and natives performing a religious ceremony round it; the second, a "kind Murray Islander taking leave of the shipwrecked orphans;" and the third, "the natives of Boydan Island treacherously murdering the crew of the 'Charles Eaton.'"

A number of further particulars can be gleaned from a thin octavo volume entitled "A Biographical, Historical, Genealogical and Heraldic account of the House of D'Oyly," by William D'Oyly Bayley (London, 1845): and here once more we are indebted to Mr. Oldham, who has extracted from it the following information.

A glance at the genealogical table on the opposite page will show that Thomas D'Oyly was first cousin once removed of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, sixth baronet, the friend of Warren Hastings, who died in Calcutta in 1818, and second cousin once removed of Sir Charles D'Oyly, seventh baronet, the well-known amateur artist. His great grandfather, Thomas D'Oyly, was the younger brother of the Rev. Sir Hadley D'Oyly, who succeeded as fifth baronet on the death of his first cousin, Sir Edmund D'Oyly, in 1762 and died in the following year. The son of Thomas, "Captain" Edward D'Oyly, is described





as "a mariner in the East India Company's service" and as having "held, at different times, the positions of purser, chief mate, and captain of an East Indiaman (1)."

As his occupation may suggest he was not richer than the contemporary baronets. Thus it became expedient he should, if possible, make wealth a consideration in forming his matrimonial alliance. With such a view he became acquainted with the daughter of Mr. Jonathan Black, of the City of Westminster, a person of considerable fortune and still greater expectations, under whose name was then pursued an extensive brewing concern in Hedge Lane.

"Captain" Edward D'Oyly and Miss Anna Black eloped into Scotland, "about 1767" and were there married "under the irregular marriage laws of that country." The parents of the lady appear to have been much scandalized, and threatened a prosecution for abduction. D'Oyly, therefore, "deemed it most prudent to return to his profession, and set sail on a voyage to India." During his absence, the wrath of Mr. and Mrs. Black appears to have melted: for on his return he was "remarried to their daughter" in an English Church on October 5, 1768. Four months later, on February 4, 1769, he made his will, describing himself as "Edward D'Oyly of the ship *Middlesex*, East India Company's service:" and shortly afterwards set sail for the East (2) leaving his wife behind. He died at Bencoolen but "his death was not heard of in England until February, 1772."

His only son, Edward, apparently inherited the fortune of the Black family, for he ultimately settled down at Sion Hill, near Thirsk. He had ten sons, and also daughters.

The fourth son of the younger Edward was Thomas who was lost in the *Charles Eaton*. He was born on July 12, 1794, and with his twin brother Edward was baptized at Wakefield on August 7 of the same year. Edward entered the marine service of the East India Company as a midshipman and was lost at sea in 1809 in the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*. This ship, together with the *Calcutta*, the *Lord Nelson*, the *Lady Jane Dundas*, and the *Bengal*, "parted Company from the Fleet on the 14th March, off the Mauritius, and was not since heard of."

Thomas obtained a cadetship in the Company's artillery on the Bengal establishment, and was one of the first batch of 58 sent to Addiscombe on the foundation of the Company's Military College in January, 1809. He passed out in 1811 and sailed for India in company with his fellow student, William Geddes, who subsequently became his brother in law. On January 13, 1812,

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(1) There is, however, no mention of Edward D'Oyly in any of these capacities in Charles Hardy's "Register of Ships employed in the service of the Hon. the United East India Company from the year 1760 to the conclusion of the Commercial Charter" (London, 1835).

(2) The *Earl of Middlesex* (499 tons, Capt. John Rogers) sailed on March 5, 1769 from Torbay on a voyage to Bencoolen and China, and arrived back in the Downs on May 28, 1771.

he was gazetted an ensign, and lieutenant fire-worker on January 18 of the same year. In 1824 and 1825 he was adjutant and quartermaster of the first and third battalions of foot artillery. He attained the rank of captain on April 26, 1828, and was appointed deputy commissary of ordnance at Chunar on November 8, of that year. On February 13, 1833, D'Oyly received permission to proceed on furlough for two years to Van Diemen's land (Tasmania) for the recovery of his health, and sailed from the Hooghly on board the ship *Thalia* on March 21. He was appointed on November 21, 1833, during his absence on leave, to be commissary of ordnance at Agra : but did not live to take up the post, being "lost at sea on board the ship *Charles Eaton*."

So much is available from official records. Mr. D'Oyly Bayley adds the following (p. 15):—

After reaching India, Thomas D'Oyly had fighting against the Murattas.

In 1826 he was Adjutant to the Foot Artillery at Dum Dum, and in 1828 was appointed into [sic] the Commissariat Department at Chunar. Meanwhile, receiving every promotion from his kinsman, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, Bart, then Collector of Calcutta, (3) and his successor Sir Charles D'Oyly, he soon attained a position of influence and importance; and the more especially as he strengthened that connection by marrying their mutual relative, Charlotte Williams, with whom Capt. D'Oyly became acquainted at the Baronets. This lady, to whom Captain D'Oyly was married about 1818 (4) was Charlotte, elder daughter and eventually co-heiress at law (though pecuniarily she had only £5,000) of Henry Williams, Esq., E.I.C.C.S. Bengal (son of Stephen Williams, an E. I. Director, by Charlotte, daughter of Sir Hadley D'Oyly, 5th Bart.).

Captain and Mrs. D'Oyly resided first at Dum Dum near Calcutta (5) and afterwards at Chunar in Bengal, in the usual East Indian splendour; till Captain D'Oyly's health impaired by the excessive heat of the climate, rendered it necessary to visit Sydney, in New South Wales, for change of air. Here he remain a considerable time, till in 1834, receiving despatches, it was stated, that a valuable appointment in

(3) It was Sir Charles D'Oyly who was Collector of Calcutta from 1818 to 1821. His father, the elder Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, sixth baronet, returned to Bengal in 1804 and died in Calcutta in 1818.

(4) From a copy of the marriage certificate which Mr. Foster has been good enough to transcribe from the India Office Records, it appears that the marriage was solemnized by the Rev. Thomas Thomason in St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, on May 10, 1820. Sir Charles D'Oyly was one of the witnesses.

(5) "There are many queer histories attaching to some of the Bungalows in Dum-Dum. Few people who walk down the Jessore Road and pass No. 29, the bungalow with the tall casuarina trees in front, know of the tragic fate which overtook the family which owned and lived in it formerly. The former owner was Captain Thomas D'Oyly, of the Bengal Artillery"—The "Dragon" (regimental magazine of the Buffs), January 31, 1890: quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 37).

India had been conferred upon him, he hastened to return thither; and lucklessly embarked in the ill-fated ship 'Charles Eaton.'

"The ship soon set sail, but never reached its destination; and for a considerable period the fate of its crew and passengers was utterly unknown. Great anxiety prevailed in every quarter where Captain D'Oyly was known; in India, Sydney and England. At last in the autumn of 1835 rumours reached England, that the ship had been wrecked in Torres Straits, and that the crew and passengers had been ruthlessly murdered by the savages which infest the islands there. On further investigation this horrible story proved to be true. Mr. Bayley, as guardian of Capt. D'Oyly's children, and Mr. Robert D'Oyly, as his eldest brother, both applied, through Lord Glenelg, to the British Government to send out a frigate of war in quest of the survivors, if any, of the 'Charles Eaton.' The request was granted, while, similar exertions being made in India by Sir Charles D'Oyly and Major Twemlow, the schooner 'Isabella' was despatched on the mission in question; and, to be brief, it was ascertained that the 'Charles Eaton' had been wrecked in Torres Straits in August 1834, and that, with the exception of five sailors who escaped in a boat to Batavia, and the two boys presently mentioned, Captain D'Oyly, his wife and third son, with all the crew and passengers had been murdered, and devoured by the cannibal savages."

"With the intention of adopting them, the wretches had spared from the general massacre a cabin boy named Ireland, and D'Oyly's youngest child, an infant of three years of age; and these were discovered in Murray's Island, in the Straits, having resided with the savages not less than two years. Both were of course ransomed and eventually brought to England. Mrs. D'Oyly's scull [sic] was found adorning a temple of the savages on the island of Aureed, in the Straits; and with many similar relics was conveyed to Sydney in November 1836, where they received the rites of Christian burial, and a monument was erected recording the event. Mr. Bayley employed the celebrated marine painter, Carmichael, to execute two very fine pictures; one of the wreck of the 'Charles Eaton,' and the other of the redemption of his nephew, both of which are now in his possession."

Captain Thomas D'Oyly and his wife appear to have had four sons. The third, George, and the youngest, William Robert, were on the *Charles Eaton*, as we have seen. The birth of the boy who was rescued from Murray Island is thus chronicled in the *East India Directory and Register* for 1832: "August 2, 1831. At Chunar, the Lady of Capt. D'Oyly, dep. com. of ordnance, of a son." In the records preserved at the India Office, the child is registered as William Robert, son of Capt. Thomas D'Oyly and Charlotte, his wife. He was baptized on August 22, 1831. The two elder children seem to have been left in England in charge of D'Oyly's brother-in-law, Mr. William Bayley, of Stockton, who was the father of Mr. William D'Oyly Bayley.

Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., has ascertained from the India Office Records that an application was made by him for assistance towards the education of his

wards. The correspondence, which is to be found in Home Correspondence, Mil. Papers, Vol. 1.44, is as follows :—

—Clarke, Esq.

Secretary at the India House, London.

Stockton, 5 October, 1835.

Sir,

When I was lately in London I did myself the honor to call upon you at the India House several times to make enquiry respecting my Brother-in-law Captn. Thos. D'Oyly of the Artillery, but had never the good fortune to meet you. The Clerks in the office, however, informed me that nothing had been heard of him since he left for Vandeeman's Land in March 1833. This is most extraordinary, for I have since heard from Lieut.-Col. Frith that before he left India the beginning of this year, the fate of poor D'Oyly was so well ascertained in Calcutta that even his appointments [sic] had been filled by Captn. Dallas. Now, Sir, as I am the Brother-in-law of Captn. D'Oyly and have two of his sons under my care, I must trouble you for some information which may account for the difference of statements made by the India House and L.-Col. Frith. Surely I am entitled to it on the part of the poor orphans by the regulations of the Company if not by the sympathy of humanity; and I must also trouble you to say what allowance will be made to the two orphan sons of Captn. D'Oyly, the one being nearly 14 and the other 12 years of age and how long such annuity will be continued to them. It is understood my Brother-in-law and his wife and the remainder of his family were wrecked near Sydney in Aug. 1834.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BAYLEY.

William Bayley, Esq., Stockton.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, and in reply I am to inform you that no official information has reached this House of the death of Captn. Thos. D'Oyley of the Bengal Artillery.

The East India Company make no provision for the Orphans of Officers.

The Officers have a Fund established by themselves the Secretary to which in England is a Mr. James Grierson of Furnivals Inn.

I am, etc.

J. D. DICKINSON,

*Asst. Secretary.*

East India House,  
the 9th October 1835.

Henry Williams, the father of Charlotte D'Oyly, and "the grandfather in Calcutta" who is presumably referred to in Brockett's book, was one of two sons of Stephen Williams "of Russell Place, St. Pancras, Middlesex" who was a Director of the Company from 1791 to 1804 (6). He was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on June 5, 1793, and arrived in India on November 29. From March 19, 1794 to December 17, 1798, he acted as assistant to the Commercial Resident at Patna, with the exception of a few months in 1794 when he was Registrar of the Dewanny Adawlut at Saran. He was then posted to Tirhoot as Registrar, and remained there for two years. From April 1800 to August 1819, he was Commercial Resident successively at Chittagong, Golagore, and Commercolly, holding the last named office for twelve years. From 1819 to 1824 he was "out of employ," and then proceeded to Europe, returning to India in May 1825. On June 25, 1828, he was appointed "assistant for authenticating stamp papers" and became Superintendent of the Salt Golahs at Narraingunge in 1831. In the following year he proceeded to Europe on furlough and died in England in 1837 (7). His wife, Anne Burrington, was the daughter of Captain (afterwards Colonel) George Burrington of the Madras Army, who took part in the operations against Tippoo in 1790 and fell in the action against the Rohillas at Dalmow, under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby, on October 26, 1794 (8).

(6) Stephen Williams (who died in 1805) appears to have been one of the many "Company's Captains," who, after making the traditional three voyages in command, obtained a seat on the Board. He was fourth officer of the *Pitt* (600 tons: Capt. Joseph Jackson) on a voyage to Fort Saint George and China from March 15, 1761, to July 28, 1762: then second officer of the *Neptune* (499 tons: Capt. Gabriel Steward) on a voyage to "the Coast" and China from January 2, 1763, to August 4, 1764. From January 28, 1766, to June 9, 1767, he sailed to Bencoolen and China and back as first officer of the *Havannah* (499 tons: Capt. Thomas Madge): and took command on January 8, 1769, of the *Hector* (499 tons). His first voyage as Captain was made to "the Coast" and China from which he returned on June 1770, and the second and third to Bombay (February 19, 1772 to October 4, 1773: April 10, 1776 to February 27, 1778). He does not seem to have gone to sea after 1778. Robert Williams, the brother of Stephen, was M.P. for Dorchester, High Sheriff of Dorset, and a banker in Birchin Lane. He too was a Director of the Company from 1809 to 1812, and died in July, 1812.

(7) Another Williams—Henry Allen—(writer 1802) was Commercial Resident at Jungypore, Dacca, Malda, and again at Jungypore, from 1811 to 1823, when he died on October 6 at Serampore. For some account of the Commercial Residents, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 84—88.

(8) "The Rohillah horse arrived in full force upon our right flank battalions, broke through them, and got into the rear, where they wheeled and renewed their charge. The loss which this part of our line sustained in the course of a few seconds was very great. Colonels Bolton and Burrington, whom I had met but a few days before at the General's table, and many other officers on the right, were killed."—Thomas Twining, "Travels in India a Hundred years ago" (London, 1893: p. 173). The names of Colonel George Burrington and Major Thomas Bolton head the list of those inscribed on the Rohilla cenotaph in St. John's Church, Calcutta. The inscription was placed on the monument in May, 1895, by the Government of Bengal.



## Captain Poynting of the "Resolution."

**A**MONG the monuments in the South Park Street cemetery may be seen a tomb with the following inscription :

At the instance of Capt. Thomas Larkins  
and  
to the memory of  
Thomas Poynting Esq.  
Commander of the ship Resolution  
in the service of the United Company of  
Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,  
who most bravely defended the Resolution  
against Thirty Sail of the Maharrtah Fleet.  
He died Esteemed and Honoured by those who knew him  
The 28th day of August 1783.  
aged 53 years.

The *Resolution*, an Indiaman of 804 tons, sailed from Portsmouth on her fourth voyage, bound for Bombay, on March 7, 1779, and arrived back in the Downs on June 19, 1785.

What was the action at sea which is commemorated upon Poynting's tomb in Calcutta? There are, Mr. William Foster informs the writer, two logs of the *Resolution* in the India Office records which relate to this long voyage of six years.

The first of these logs (466.D) gives the outward voyage from England to Bombay, a voyage thence to Madras and back to Bombay, and lastly the earlier portion of a voyage from Bombay to Bengal. It ends on December 31, 1780, when the ship was near Ceylon.

It was on the last-mentioned voyage that the action with the Mahratta ships took place, when nearing Tellicherry. The following is the extract from the log, which Mr. Foster has been good enough to transcribe :

"Wednesday, 29 November, 1780.—At noon Tellicherry east, distance 5 miles. Mount Dilly north. At 4 p.m. saw a fleet of vessels ahead. At 6 ditto discovered them to be Hyders, consisting of 3 ships, 2 snows, 2 ketches, and 6 gallivats and dingeys (1). Ditto, haul'd out to the

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(1) A snow is defined in the New English Dictionary (Vol. IX Part I, p. 333) as "a small sailing vessel resembling a brig, carrying a main and fore-mast and a supplementary trysail mast close behind the main mast." It was armed with guns which ranged in number from four to twelve. In Young's Nautical Dictionary (1846, p. 50) the difference between a brig and a snow is thus indicated: "A brig bends her boom sail (or trysail) to the main mast, while a snow bends it to a trysail mast: otherwise these two vessels are alike."

A ketch, according to Edward Ives (1754) was much the same thing as a grab: See note (2).

A gallivat is described by Orme (1763) as "a large row-boat built like the grab but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons; they have two masts and 40 or 50 stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour." The Mahratta arch-pirate Tulaji Angria, whose stronghold at Saverndroog was captured by Commodore James in 1755, had "six galley watts of 8 guns and 60 men each, and 4 of 6 guns and 50 men each."

southward of them. At  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 6 lost sight of them. At 8 bore away our course for Tellicherry. At 9 saw them again, standing to the northward. At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 12 midnight we perceived them standing after us and coming up very fast. Ditto, call'd all hands to quarters. About a quarter before 1 a.m. a grab ship (2) came up on the starboard quarter and two in the wake. The grab hail'd us and desired us to send our boat on board, and then began to fire upon us and rake us; which we return'd with a broadside. And then began the engagement, which continued without ceasing till past 3 p.m.; for as we silenced the ship or two that we was engaging, they sheered off and fresh ships supplied their places, untill the whole fleet was silenced. And at a little past 3 the whole fleet sheered off and stood to the northward. We very fortunately had no one killed in the action;; Captain Poynting wounded in seven different places at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 2 p.m., and one man shot through the arm with a musket ball. We received several shotts thro our hull etc., and one thro the fish of our foremast, three main shrouds shot away, and our sails much cutt. At 8 a.m. the *Drake* and *Eagle* cruisers join'd us, and sent their surgeons to dress our captain's wounds. At 9 heard a smart cannonading and saw the fleet that we had beat off engaged with a single ship, which we take to be His Majesty's ship the *Coventry*."

The second log (466 E) was begun on June 10, 1782, when the *Resolution* was on the point of leaving Bengal for England. She met at once with bad weather, sprang a leak, and had to return to Kedgerree and Culpee. The damage was so serious that the ship did not sail again until early in October, 1783. Meanwhile Captain Poynting died aboard (at Culpee) on August 27, 1783 (not August 28, as stated in the *Bengal Obituary*), and his body was taken to Calcutta for burial. He was succeeded by David Tolmé, who had joined in Bengal as Chief Officer on June 4, 1782, and took the ship home.

The fight (says Mr. Foster) seems to have been a smart affair, but the number of assailants is exaggerated on the monument. There is no mention of it in Low's 'History of the Indian Navy.'

Thomas Larkins, who erected the monument to his friend, was captain of the *Warren Hastings* Indiaman (755 tons) which was owned by William Larkins and sailed from Portsmouth on her first voyage for "the Coast and China," returning on September 21, 1784. He would therefore have been lying in the Hooghly at the time of Poynting's death. His first officer was

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(2) A *grab ship* was very like the modern dhow. Orme describes the type as follows: "The grabs have rarely more than two masts, though some have three: those of three are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley."

Nathaniel Dance, who was afterwards knighted for his gallantry, when commander of the *Lord Camden* (799 tons) in beating off an attack made by Admiral Linois with four men of war, on the homeward bound China fleet of which he was commodore, off Pulo Aor on February 14, 1804.

Both Poynting and Larkins were men with a long record in the marine service of the Hon'ble East India Company. We first come across Poynting as second officer of the *Warren* (499 tons, Captain Alphonsus Glover) on her fourth voyage to "the Coast and Bay" from March 30, 1761, to December 2, 1762. He next shipped as first officer in the *Fort William* (499 tons, Captain Edward Roch) which sailed for Bengal on May 17, 1764, with orders to "remain in India." His next voyage was made as second officer of the *Grenville* (499 tons, Captain Burnet Abercromby) which sailed for Madras and Bombay on April 7, 1768, and returned on November 3, 1769. On February 6, 1770 he joined the *Resolution* (Captain Thomas Atkyns) which made her first voyage, to China and back, and arrived in the Downs on August 3, 1771. He assumed command of the *Resolution* on March 5, 1773, and took her to Bombay, returning on November 30, 1774, and to the Coast and China (January 16, 1777 to August 23, 1778.) The voyage on which he died was the ship's fourth, and last.

Thomas Larkins began his career as third officer of the *Hardwicke* (499 tons, Captain Brook Samson) when she made her fourth voyage to Madras and Bombay from April 12, 1765 to October 22, 1766. He then became second officer of the *Pacific* (499 tons) on her second voyage, to the "Coast and China" with Captain Charles Barkeley in command, from January 2, 1768, to June 16, 1769. His next voyage was made as first officer of the *Triton* (499 tons) to "the Coast and Bay" from January 1, 1772, to October 8, 1773: his captain being the Hon'ble William Fullarton Elphinstone, who was afterwards a Director of the Company from 1791 to 1824, a period of thirty-three years (Chairman, 1804, 1806 and 1814: Deputy Chairman, 1813). He was then given the command of one of William Larkins' ships, the *Lioness* (693 tons) which he took to "the Coast and Bay," sailing from Portsmouth on March 14, 1776, and returning to the Downs on July 23, 1777. The *Warren Hastings* (755 tons) in which he made two voyages to "the Coast" and China (February 6, 1782 to September 21, 1784, and April 8, 1785 to May 20, 1786) was another of William Larkins' ships, and was owned after his death by Mrs. Christian Larkins, his daughter. On his return he became owner of the *Warren Hastings*, and she was commanded on her third voyage to Bombay (April 13, 1787 to September 23, 1788) by Captain John Pascall Larkins.

David Tolmé shipped as second officer of the *Chapman* (538 tons, Captain Thomas Walker) for her first voyage, to "the Coast and Bay," on March 13, 1781. She returned on March 9, 1783, but he remained behind, as we have seen, to bring the *Resolution* home. He did not continue in command of her. From March 12, 1787, to July 10, 1788, and again from March 3, 1790, to July 3, 1791, he was Captain of the *Marquess of Lansdowne* (647 tons) and took her first to China, and then to St. Helena and China.

## A Journey to Jessore in 1846.

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[We owe to the courtesy of Baboo Chandi Charan Chunder the following extracts from an account of a journey made in 1846 to Jessore. It was written by his grandfather, Baboo Bholanath Chunder, the author of "Travels of a Hindoo," a work in two volumes published by Trubner and Co. in 1869: and forms the second chapter of a projected third volume, which was however, never completed owing to the author's death in 1910.]

WE set out for Jessore, by dak, at about five in the afternoon of January 27 1846. Out of the Ditch, of which a trace is still visible after a hundred and four years, the garden house on the left side of the road, where Lena Singh was putting up, first attracted our attention. He was sitting out in the open verandah, beneath a rich crimson awning, breathing the fresh evening air. Lena Singh is a notable Sikh chief. "His manners, says Sir Henry Lawrence," are mild and pleasing—he is one of the Sardars who have generally been employed in missions to the British Government. Lena Singh's politics have been timid. He seems to have taken no decided part in any of the late revolutions: to have quietly recognised the victor: and then if he did not approve of measures, to have absented himself from durbar." In the name of pilgrimage he was keeping out of harm's way.

Then we passed by Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore's splendid villa, which has taken the shine out of the famous Seven Tanks garden. Certainly, the meandering *jheel*, copied from nature, is to be preferred to rectilinear tanks and canals of old Hindoo and Mahomedan taste. But the chief attraction is made by the rich collection of paintings, not to be found under another roof. The history of this garden house is the history of a series of dinners and balls culminating in a princely fete to Lord Auckland (1). The next place which claimed notice was the Fairy Hall, where the Ameers of Sindh, stripped of their territories, were held in hopeless captivity. Towards dusk, we reached Dum Dum, where the road was blocked with the carriages of lookers-on at a review. In one of these military exhibitions a shell bursting and wounding thirteen people made it a serious affair.

Shortly after nightfall, we accomplished the first stage at Gouripore, where the old bearers made over the palkee from shoulder to shoulder to a new set of men, and the mussaulchee was ready with his lighted flambeau, and a fresh banghywallah took up his burden slung upon a pole—all taking only a minute or two.

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(1) This garden house at Belgachia now belongs to the Paikpara Raj Family. The paintings form part of the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore. For a history of the villa: See *post*, p. 221.

Five miles further up, the little town of Baraset made a favourable impression by the numerous lighted shops and the bustle of life in its bazar (2). In 1831 the neighbourhood of this place was the scene of a grave farce—it was the outbreak of a body of fanatical Mahomedans under Teetoo Meer, one of those men who spring up from circumstances. The disturbance originated in some of the Hindu zamindars levying a tax upon their beards—"it being a point with the bigots to cultivate that ornament of their persons with extraordinary care." The military had to be called out for its suppression. Their blank firing in the first instance was interpreted to his followers by Teetoo into his having eaten up the balls—whence *gōla kha dala* has passed into a proverb. Apropos of beards, it is a dangerous thing to interfere with them. The mutiny at Vellore arose from requiring the 'sepoys to appear on parade with clipped mustaches and chins clean shaved. It was by meddling with beards that the Emperor Akbar lost his grand project of amalgamating the Hindus, the Mussulman, the Parsis, the Jains and the Christians under one common religion.

Out of Baraset, succeeded long dreary open fields on either side of the road. At times a straggling passenger "plodded homeward his weary way." For many miles, it was one continued pass through a lonely country, until there rose on the view, in pale moonlight, the gloomy outline of Dattapukar, a respectable village, with many brick buildings and shops, and environments of topes and plantations. The place was dead, locked in sleep at the time of our arrival.

The fresh relays that awaited us at Dattapukar were all matched tall six feet men, who no sooner shouldered us than they seemed to fly on with the long legs of an ostrich. It was not unpleasant to travel by dak snug within the palkee, the mussaulchee running alongside with the torch fed every now and then with oil from a bottle at his waist, and helping you with fire for your pipe, and the monotonous "Hee haw" of the bearers to lull you into snatches of sleep. As Gyghata was neared, the bearers raised a long halloo for the ferryman to be ready at his helm. Here we crossed the Jamuna.

The next stage, Bongong, stood on the Ichchamati. But the lazy lubber, in charge of the ferry here, was a regular Charon, with repulsive countenance and long beard. He came rubbing his eyes and cursing the traveller, bearer, fates, and all, for having to leave his bed on a cold night. Situated upon a steep bank, Bongong commands the prospect of a fine open country, rich in pastures and orchards. The village is remarkable for being the only place

(2) Baraset was until the year 1811 the seat of a college to which infantry cadets were sent on arrival. In his diary Mackrabie, the private secretary and brother-in-law of Francis, makes mention of card playing at "Barasutt" in February 1773. The sub jail is located in a three storeyed building which is known as Vansittart Villa and is said to have been the country residence of one of the Vansittarts.

where a few buildings and a *Ras-mancha* (3) can bear comparison with structures of their kind in Calcutta. It is connected with Chogdah by a fine road made by Baboo Kaliprasad Poddar. Our cook, khansamah, and durwan, sent ahead of us three days before hand, were met at Bongong.

Crossing the Ichchamati, the road again lies through an open country for several miles. The day dawned at Jaintipur, a petty village upon a petty streamlet, called the Kodlar. Though the scenery is tame enough, the land unquestionably is a smiling one of plenty. Groves of mango, the jack, the tamarind, the bamboo, all in luxuriance and abundance, sufficiently testify to the fertility of the soil. The date here begins to be seen in numbers and adds richness to the prospect. Lying nearly a mile off the road, we had a distant view of Kagachpukuriah, which appeared a large village from the extent of ground it covered. Recently, a black tiger has established himself in a patch of jungle on the skirts of this village. He used to lodge upon a tree whence he made his sorties against straggling cattle. One day he attacked a poor peasant whose path lay by his tree, when the village was aroused against him, and effected his destruction.

Jadabpore is a poor small hamlet upon the Betna which has branched off from the Kabadak and was crossed by us over a rickety bridge needing speedy repairs. The little brook with its margins decked by wild yellow flowers, and its blue waters crisped by the breeze, pleased us by now bursting upon the view, and then retiring, in alternate succession.

Gudkhali, which, thirty years ago, was a thriving village inhabited by Brahmins and other respectable castes is now a gloomy desolate spot, where hut only a few low people. An epidemic of the most virulent type—according to the inhabitants, the baleful pushkara—broke out, utterly depopulating the place. Marks of this terrible calamity are visible in the deserted sites of habitations rioted upon by jungles.

In a lonely spot, about half way between Gudkhali and Jhinkargacha, occurs a very large tank, enclosed by high jungly banks, and choked by sedgy weeds, which seems well adapted for the region of robbers. Not many years ago, it was the lurking place of budmashes, who fell upon solitary travellers in the hours of mid-day or after dark, robbed them, killed them, and deposited their dead bodies in the tank. Long did they commit these murders with impunity, and the police not only connived at their outrages but many a time after dark, themselves acted as banditti. To this day people pass by the spot with a shudder.

We crossed the Kabadak over a bridge to Jhinkargacha. The bazar started here is rapidly growing in importance from the advantages of its situation, combined with the zulum of its planter—ijaradar. At Jhinkargacha, we

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(3) A *Ras-mancha* is a temple where Sri Krishna and his consort Radhika foregather annually on the day of the full moon in the month of Kartik (in some places in the month of Chaitra). A platform is attached to the temple on which the *Ras* festival is celebrated.

heard that a body of the police had halted with a dacoit who had escaped from the Rungpore jail and was being marched back there. He had been discovered hiding in the jungles of the tank just mentioned. Our curiosity was excited to have a look at the fellow tarrying in one of the road side huts, where four chowkidars sat on guard over him, having strongly pinioned his arms and tethered him by his two legs to stakes in the ground. He was a young man of thirty or thereabouts, slightly undersized in his person, but had herculean *thèws* and sinews. His complexion was rather fair for his class, and if his features were somewhat coarse, certainly the villain could not be read in their lines. But in his eye was "the basilisk glance of the serpent," which betrayed the devil in his nature.

About a mile north of Jhinkargacha, we stopped again to see a curious object on the roadside. It was a simul and a peepul tree which have so grown, the one merged into the other, that they made quite a non-descript hybrid. A dervish of the 16th century is said to have planted the two trees, which by their large size bear out the age ascribed to them. The dervish used to ride a tiger, the lineal descendant of which is believed still to pay an occasional visit to the tree, below which the prints of his paw are sometimes seen. Further up, there was another object to attract our notice—a date tree with four distinct heads upon one trunk. It made us question whether all the four heads gave juice, or none at all. The country here is thinly inhabited. Date trees now appear in countless numbers, covering miles and miles of ground in every direction. The moist, clayey soil is indigenous to this tree, which grows to a tall vigorous size in the alluvial tracts of this district.

Chanchra, two miles south-east of Jessore, is the abode of a long line of Rajahs on this side of Bengal. The family trace their descent from Bhabeshwara Rai, a general of Pratapaditya, whose important services were rewarded with a gift of a large estate in 1591. The fourth in descent, Manohar Rai, was first honoured with the title of Rajah by the Emperor of Delhi. This event was commemorated by the dedication of a temple to Siva, which may yet be seen a little to the south of the Rajbari. The bricks on the outer face of its walls are neatly cut with various figures in the old Hindoo fashion. The temple lies quite neglected. Its date is 1740. The Rajbari is a huge, irregular old pile, without any design or order. Upon brick walls we saw thatched roofs. Nevertheless, it once was surrounded with a deep moat, and was in a fair condition to keep off a hostile force. The Rajah, who now perpetuates the line, is an amiable young man of about thirty. The star of his house being on the wane, he feels the weight of a great name with poor finance.

At Chanchra an interesting sight is the temple of *Dasamahavidya* or the ten incarnations of Sacti. They were originally set up by a Sannyasi who left them on his death to the Rajah. The temple is simply a square one-storied building, with long halls faced with corridors, on the four sides of

an open courtyard. Before each door, in the several halls, is set an image, among which those of Nistarini and Bhuvaneshwari (4) exhibit pleasing mild forms. That of Chinnamasta with decapitated head and spouts of blood from the neck, is a most horrid imagination, suggested rather by infatuation than devotion.

By half past twelve we reached Jessore, accomplishing eighty miles in twenty hours. Our men arrived by dusk.

The present station of Jessore has received its name from an old place on the banks of the Raimangal in the Sundarbans. The distance between the two places is some sixty miles. Old Jessore was the capital of Rajah Pratapaditya who was descended from a Kayastha family. In the fall of Pratapaditya was involved the fall of Jessore, now a petty village called Iswaripore. It is the name of this old city which has been engrafted upon modern Jessore. Originally, it was a Mussulman colony, or kusba, by which name it is popularly known. The founder of the colony was one Gurreeb Peer, a saint of great reputation in this quarter of Bengal, in the middle of the 16th century. A tradition is related of him that "as he was passing down the river Bhairab, looking out for a situation to settle upon, he was struck with the appearance and scenery of the site of this subsequent colony, Kusba, and desired his boatmen to pull up: but the current being very rapid, the boat was carried a considerable distance downstream before they could do so. This raised the ire of the saint and forced from his lips a curse upon the river: the bed of which being deserted shortly afterwards, has produced a belief attributing its cause to the curse of the saint." The spot he landed upon is to the north-west of the modern Collector's house. It is marked by his sepulchre, a small low building kept by a fakir. He lies interred in the shade of an aged banian tree, close upon the stream which labours under his curse.

Jessore is a small town, consisting mostly of small cottages and huts. The few public offices and the residences of the functionaries, are the only pukka buildings. No one resides here permanently. The place is inhabited by amlahs, mukhtears, shop-keepers, and workmen. The female population consists of Cyprians. The town is void of sights for a traveller. Jessore is also notoriously unhealthy for its damp soil, its muggy air, and its impure water. For the officials, it is one of those penal stations where they are seasoned in the early part of their career. The Bhairab, upon which it stands, is a dead stream. Cut off from its parent river, the Matabhanga, it has the flickering vitality of a tail severed from the trunk. Navigable from a few miles up from Khoolna, the rest of the river has the tortuosity of a screw in its course, with its surface covered by sedgy weeds. If the country were properly drained by the Bhairab and other rivers, half the insalubrity would be removed. Fever, with affection of the spleen, is the most common complaint. The pallid aspect of the people bears witness to the unwhole-

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(4) *Nishtarini, Bhuvaneshwari, Cinnamasta*—manifestations of Durga, the consort of Siva.



some region in which they live. It is a curious fact that a Jessorean deprecates the attack of a simple fever: he prays for its complication with spleen affection, which, he says, allows the patient to eat his daily meals of rice.

One proof of the unhealthiness of the climate is found in the European graveyard. Considering the infinitesimal number of Sahibs, who are mere birds of passage seldom spending more than a twelve month in this station, how populous is the small enclosure! Most of the tombs are old and hoary, crowding round a solitary instance of recent interment—a fact intimating that the climate is improving. Beneath one of the oldest tombs, marked with the emblem of an anchor, rests a man of the wide sea, tenanting the "narrow house" in a most obscure corner of the world (5).

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(5) Mr. M. C. Ghosh, I.C.S., District Judge of Jessore, who has been good enough to visit the cemetery, reports that no trace can be found of any tomb "marked with the emblem of an anchor." It is probably one of those which have lost much of their brickwork. There are about a dozen of such tombs, and the inscriptions have perished. Mr. Ghosh sends the following list of the oldest inscribed tombs: 1. John Hubbard, died May 6, 1828, aged 38 years: 2. John Robert Carruthers, of the Bengal Civil Service, died September 10, 1831, aged 21 years and 11 months: 3. V. Burgh, died February 2, 1833, aged 66 years: 4. Manuel Thomas, died March 19, 1834, aged 34 years: 5. Gregory Herklots, junior, of Chinsurah, [son of the last Dutch Fiscal], uncovenanted deputy collector, died November 25, 1840, aged 35 years and 9 months: 6. John William Baldwin, died August 11, 1841, aged 40 years and 7 months: 7. George Scott, died September 26, 1842, aged 27 years: 8. Mary Adelaide, wife of A. I. Smith, uncovenanted deputy collector, died February 25, 1845, aged 31 years: 9. Henry James Barchard, of Wandsworth in the county of Surrey, died August 5, 1846, aged 26 years. There are several tombs of infants of seven years and under: and about a dozen tombs bearing dates after 1846. Five old tombs are to be seen in a jungle some fifty yards from the cemetery. Two are in ruins: the others are inscribed as follows: 1. Robert Renny, B.C.S., died June 15, 1832, aged 23 years: 2. Theophilus Beavan, died November 26, 1833, aged 39 years: 3. Robert Bransby Francis, assistant surgeon, died October 6, 1833, aged 35 years. In the Bengal Obituary (Calcutta, 1851) mention is made of the tombs of Carruthers and Francis, and of the five following: 1. Thomas Heap, died September 3, 1833: 2. James Doyle, of County Roscommon, died February 3, 1846, aged 49 years: 3. James Doyle, died April 23, 1846, aged 18 years and 7 months: 4. Colonel Bernardo Solano, died August 19, 1846, aged 37 years: erected by his cousin R. Solano [of Arwal, in Behar]: 5. Thomas Francis William Doyle "accidentally drowned in this lake by the upsetting of a boat" on March 19, 1848, aged 18 years and 28 days. No list of inscriptions is supplied in Dr. C. R. Wilson's book.

## The Mahratta Ditch.

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A SIGN-POST opposite the Military Cemetery in Bhowanipore Road has for some years borne the legend "Mahratta Ditch Lane." The "lane" to which it pointed the way is, however, merely a narrow uneven pathway: and the Corporation has now ordered it to be closed. Henceforth, the only Mahratta Ditch Lane in Calcutta must be looked for in the north of the town. It is immediately to the west of Cornwallis Street, and follows the line of the original Ditch half way to Chitpore Road (1). The name was apparently given to the Bhowanipore gully on account of the belief that it also ran across "the filled up site of the Mahratta Ditch." But was the Ditch ever extended beyond the Entally Corner, near the junction of "John Bazar" (Corporation Street) and Lower Circular Road?

As regards tradition, we have the statement of Mr. A. K. Ray in his *Short History of Calcutta*, which is quoted in *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 40). The story current among Hindoos, we are told, is that "the ditch existed also on the south of Gobindpore up to the edge of the river" that "the big open drain on the town side of the Bhowanipore bridge over Tolly's Nullah, which still goes by the name of the Mahratta Ditch, is a portion of it," and, further, that "the drain across the Maidan through which tidal water used to reach this drain, marks its site on the south at Gobindpore." The existence of this ditch was known also to old English residents of Calcutta: for the late Mr. Woolward of the Calcutta Port Trust is quoted (2) as having stated that he had "met old people who were able to say that their parents had assured them" that the Ditch extended along the whole length of Lower Circular Road, and, making a slight detour opposite Elgin Road and crossing Chowringhee, continued (behind the Presidency General Hospital) along Sambhunath Pandit's Street and the east side of Bhowanipore Road towards Tolly's Nullah.

The examination of documentary evidence begins, as a rule, and ends with the plan inset by Upjohn in his larger map of 1793. This is taken from an earlier map of 1742, and shows a considerable space of more than two miles, left blank, to the southward, and inscribed, "this part not executed." But in the Articles of Agreement drawn up by Clive previous to his treaty with Mir Jaffir in 1757, it is distinctly stated that "the Bounds of Calcutta are to extend the whole circle of the Ditch dug upon the invasion of the Morattoes: also 600 yards without it, for an Esplanade." The phrase "whole circle of the Ditch" is interesting, because Robert Orme, in a letter written from Madras in 1754, has left it on record that as early in 1751 "there remains

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(1) See the article "The Last Trace of the Mahratta Ditch" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. pp. 158 to 161.

(2) *Statesman*, May 23, 1924.

a mile to 'carry it [the Ditch] down to the river, it having turned the southern most angle of our bounds." An inspection had been made by Mr. Benjamin Robins, the Engineer General of the Company's Fortifications, who arrived at Fort St. David on July 14, 1750, and left for Fort William on February 10, 1751. He reached Calcutta on March 11, but his visit was of a very brief character, and no report was prepared. In a letter written to the Court of Directors, four days before his death at Fort St. David on July 29, 1751, (3) he says: "I have been labouring at the Account to be sent you of Bengall, in consequence of the Observations I made there. Many Accidents, and lastly, my Sickness, prevented me from putting it together, so that it is of no Use, being only intelligible to my self." He seems, however, to have communicated to his intimate friend, Orme, some of the points upon which he had it in mind to enlarge: for Orme adds in the latter already quoted:

Mr. Robins told me, when he returned from Bengall, that he intended to carry on this ditch into the moat of the citadel he designed to be built a little above Salman's Garden, and, by deepening it, proposed to make it defensible till the principal inhabitants with their most valuable effects could retire into the new Fort. So that, whether or no the Engineer who succeeds Mr. Robins pitches upon the same place, it is evident that, with an eye only to the security of the colony, this ditch ought to be carried down to the river (4).

"Salman's Garden" is Surman's Garden at Kidderpore. The present Kidderpore Bridge replaces a structure which was known for many years as Surman's Bridge. Both the garden and the bridge were named after Edward Surman, who led the famous mission to Delhi in 1717.

Lastly, we have the following extract, dated February 6, 1779, from the Note Books of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde which are preserved in the Bar Library of the High Court, and from which Archdeacon Firminger printed many excerpts in the third volume of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 27—60):—

Kidderpore is a village, about two miles from the Court House, lying close to a small river, commonly called by the English Kidderpore Nullah. This river is the boundary southward of the town of Calcutta, of which the River commonly called the Houghly river is the boundary north-westward, and the Marrattah Ditch, which exists in many parts, and the line where it once was in other places, are the boundaries north-eastward, eastward, and south eastward, to the place where that Ditch or line where it once existed meets the Kidderpore Nullah, and from that place the rivulet is the boundary. This rivulet was a little to the southward of the new Fort, which is considered as within the town of Calcutta, and I consider Fort William to be the English name

(3) Fort St. David Cons. Vol. XIX, July 29, 1751: quoted in Colonel H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 411-412.

(4) Quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 387.

of the town. Calcutta is the Bengally name of one of many villages of which the town of Calcutta consists.

The note was made by Hyde in connexion with the case of Kissen Gosaul and Cocool Chunder Gosaul versus Henry Watson, of which account will be found in the second volume of the *Memoirs of William Hickey* (pp. 143 to 150). The case arose out of the forcible acquisition by Watson, under cover of a grant from the Company, of various plots of land, which he required for his docks at Watgunge. Cocool Gosaul, "a man of opulence," was one of those dispossessed, and being (says Hickey) encouraged thereto by Barwell, commenced an action by way of ejectment for recovery of a narrow strip leading to the waterside, which was used by him and his family when going to the river to perform their daily ablutions. Hickey, who acted as attorney for Watson, tells us that the hearing began at nine o'clock in the morning and continued until eight at night when Sir Elijah Impey gave judgment for the plaintiffs. The result was to put a stop to further progress at the docks, as the strip of land ran directly through the centre of the works.

The "Kidderpore Nullah" is, of course, the channel which for so many years has been called Tolly's Nullah (5); and Hyde's reference to "the line" of the Mahratta Ditch "where it once was in other places" and to its junction with the Nullah, may be taken as showing that the extension to the south was, in point of fact, made.

(5) *Tolly's Nullah*.—The extent of this Nullah, which was dug by Colonel William Tolly in 1775, at his own expense, was recently officially defined in answer to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council. The name "Tolly's Nullah" is applied to the whole of the channel, some seventeen and a half miles long, between the suburb of Hastings (where it runs into the Hooghly under the Watgunge bridge) and Samukpota (where it meets the Bidyadhari river): but the upper portion between Hastings and Garia is known also as the Adi Ganga. The old title of the channel was the Gobindpore Creek and it is hardly necessary to mention that it is, in fact, part of the old bed of the Ganges.

"Before the year 1775," says a writer in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1829, "the only available communication between the creeks of the Soonderbuns and the Hooghly emerged into the Channel Creek, while the rest of the trade, then insignificant, which did not require to pass into the Hooghly, landed at Balyaghat [Belliaghatta], situated two miles east of Calcutta on the margin of the great salt water lake or marsh. The passage excavated by Major Tolley, now bearing his name, at first a private adventure under a grant for so many years and excavated with very insignificant dimensions, soon became a much frequented passage and source of considerable revenue."

## The Editor's Note-Book.

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**L**ORD CURZON, who has every claim to be heard on the subject of old Calcutta, is inclined to dispute the assertion made in the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVII, Part I, pp. 108—109) that the garden house purchased by Henry Vansittart "for the refreshment of the Governor when the multiplicity of business will permit him to leave town," was ever known as Belvedere, unless indeed Vansittart so designated it. That house stood on the site of the present Loretto Convent. The early Belvedere, Lord Curzon thinks, was situated in Alipore, either on the spot now covered by the modern mansion, or not far from it. Had the modern Belvedere been the garden house purchased by Vansittart, Hastings would not, in his opinion, have confirmed the statement that it was the residence of Verelst and Cartier, his immediate predecessors as Governor, and omitted the name of Vansittart, whose purchase of a garden house was expressly repudiated by the Court.

THE meaning of the word "Chowringhee" has always been a difficulty; and many solutions have been offered. A choice of explanations is presented in *Calcutta Old and New*. The name, which appears in early records as "Cherangi," may be derived from the legend of the origin of the goddess Kali by being cut up with Vishnu's disc. Alternatively, the meaning may simply be "The Square": for in Upjohn's map of 1794 the boundaries of "Chowringhee" are given as Circular Road on the east, Park Street on the south, Colingah on the north, and a portion of "Chowringhee Road" on the west. But Baboo Sachindra Nath Rudra, writing in the *Statesman* of March 23, has advanced the theory that the locality is named after "the crypto-Buddhistic saint, Chowranghee Nath, a devoted worshipper of Dharma Thakur": and he cites, in support of his view, the names of neighbouring streets such as Dharmatala (Dhurrum-tollah) and Russa Road (or Russa Pagla Rastha) the present continuation of Chowringhee, which recalls the "ecstatic saint, Russa, who, as tradition tells us, was also a staunch advocate of the Dharma cult." We may add that at one time a shrine of Siva stood to the south of the old site of the Presidency Jail now appropriated by the Victoria Memorial Hall, at which Hindu sepoy were accustomed to worship. This shrine was under the charge of an ascetic belonging to one of the sects named after the ten followers of Sankaracharya, and it is said that he styled himself a "Chowranghee."

MADGE'S LANE leads out of Lindsay Street close to the Opera House, as every frequenter of the New Market knows. It is named after James Madge, who was head assistant in the office of the Chief Engineer, Bengal, and was one of those who signed

the farewell address to Lord Minto in 1813. His father, Captain E. H. Madge of the 19th Regiment, commanded at Fort MacDowall, Kandy, in 1803 : and a relative, Major Thomas Madge, who commanded the 12th Sepoy battalion of the Madras Army, died at Fort Saint George on November 8, 1773, and is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery. Another Thomas Madge commanded the *Havannah* Indiaman from March 7, 1763, to June 9, 1767, and made two voyages in her, the first to China and the second to Bencoolen and China. A "Descendant," writing in the *Statesman* of April 20 supplies the following particulars regarding James Madge and his brother Ian, or John :—

James and Ian Madge were the sons of a Lowlander Scotsman and started their career in Ceylon as cinnamon and coffee planters. Having made money, they came to India and settled down in the growing township of Calcutta. Two out of the three houses in the lane that bears their name were built and owned by them. The land on which the Opera House stands was also theirs and at that period was laid out as an orchard with a thatched bungalow. A substantial portion of the site of the municipal market was likewise their property, and a house in Lindsay Street which, with some others, was dismantled at the time of the extension of the market. Ian Madge, the younger brother, lived with his wife and children in the Lindsay Street house. James Madge with his family occupied premises at No. 2, Madge's Lane, which in those days, was known as Madge's Garden. When his only daughter was married, James Madge built in his garden a comfortable demi-upper roomed bungalow which was given to her as a wedding gift. The numbers 1 and 2 were thereafter affixed to the respective main entrances. That only daughter is my maternal grandmother. James Madge had five or six sons. The eldest, David Walter Madge, was well known in Calcutta in his day. For many years he was a Governor of the Calcutta Free School. He was also a member of the Christian Burial Board and an Honorary Magistrate on the Calcutta bench. His only son, Mr. W. C. Madge, C.I.E., a late member of the Imperial Legislative Council, is now residing in Scotland.

It remains to be added to the foregoing that the son of Mr. W. C. Madge was the late Elliot Walter Madge, of the Imperial Library, to whom the Society is indebted for much patient research into Calcutta history.

THE revival of the offices of Mayor and Aldermen in Calcutta, under the provisions of the new Municipal Act, is full of historical interest, although they are associated with very different functions from their ancient counterparts. In 1726, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King George the First, four Courts were constituted by Royal Charter at Fort William in Bengal. The first of these was the Mayor's Court. This was a Court of Record, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen. Seven of the latter, together with the Mayor, were required to be natural born British subjects. The remaining two Aldermen might be "foreign protestants, the

subjects of any state in amity with Great Britain." Their duty was to deal with the more important civil disputes in which the English inhabitants were concerned : and their first place of meeting was a house which (according to Mr. S. C. Hill) stood on the south side of Lall Bazar, just below the junction of Lall Bazar with Cossaitollah (Bentinck Street). In the year 1712 (says Archdeacon Firminger, who has examined the whole of this portion of Calcutta topography with the utmost care) this house was utilized for the reception of a Persian Ambassador, who was on his way to the Court of the Great Mogul, and whom it was deemed politic to conciliate. Governor John Russell went to meet him upon his arrival at Govindpore, and he was evidently pleased with the accommodation provided for him, for he remained for eight days as the guest of the Company. On his departure the building became known as "the Ambassador's house," and on January 2, 1727, the Council resolved to hand it over to the newly-appointed Mayor and Aldermen. Later on, these functionaries sat to dispense justice in the old Court House which stood on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk and which is said to have been the residence of Richard Bouchier, second in Council and Master Attendant in 1731, and later, from 1750 to 1760, Governor of Bombay, who gave it in the first instance to the Company to be used as a charity school. Here, for nearly half a century until the arrival in 1774 of Impey and his brother-judges, the Mayor and Aldermen held their Court, the Mayor seated in full official dress on a cushion, and the Aldermen arrayed in taffety gowns. Their decisions were not final but might be referred to the Court of Appeal, which was composed of the Governor and Council. These dignitaries formed also the Court of Quarter Sessions which was also a Court of Record, "of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery," of trying and punishing all offences except high treason. The fourth Court was a Court of Requests, constituted of twenty-two Commissioners, selected from among the inhabitants of the Settlement, who were invested with summary jurisdiction to decide all suits of which the subject matter did not exceed five pagodas or forty shillings. All these Courts were swept away by the establishment of the Supreme Court under the Regulating Act of 1773.

INTERESTING corroboration of the identification with Lieut.-General George

The "Mystery Picture"  
in the Town Hall.

Hewett of the "Mystery Picture" in the Calcutta Town Hall (Part I, of this volume, pp. 59 to 70) is afforded by a list of pictures which was compiled in the year 1849. These are, "Lord Lake, General Hewett, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore." All the portraits, except that of Hewett, have been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall : and Hewett became so completely forgotten that thirty years ago a label bearing the name of Clive was to be seen affixed to the frame. Mention is also made of a marble bust of the Duke of Wellington, which has likewise found its way to the Memorial Hall. The worthy General, it may be added, must have given satisfaction to his Hon'ble masters, the Directors, for they called a "Company's ship" of 894 tons after him. The "General Hewitt" (the surname is so

spelled in Hardy's Register) made her maiden voyage to China and back in 1816—1817. Her second voyage (1818—1819) was to Bengal and Madras. She then (1820—1821) returned to the China run: but her last two voyages (1822 to 1825) were made to Bengal.

WE have received from Rai Promotha Nath Mullick Bahadur an account of the history of the famous Belgatchia Villa. It was originally (he writes) the property of Ramdulal Ghosh of Durmahatta who was the son of Kali Charan Ghosh of Chandernagore, Dewan to the French Company. Ramdulal made a fortune by becoming the Calcutta agent of the Portuguese Government and died at the good old age of 108. He had to dispose of the house owing to his son Ramadhone starting an indigo concern in Behar and standing security for his brother-in-law. It was bought by Dwarkanath Tagore, who made considerable improvements after the ideas and taste of Miss Eden and Lord Auckland, and thus it acquired the name of their country house inasmuch as they were often entertained there. Many accounts of such entertainments are given in the Anglo-Indian Dailies. As to its later history the following announcement will be found in the "Friend of India," dated September 21, 1848:—

"We extract from the Calcutta Star the following report of the sale of the Dwarkanath property in Calcutta which has been going on for some days. This well known property, including the house and grounds situated in Belgatchia, with the furniture, statuary and pictures, was brought to the hammer and has been finally disposed of. The best portion of the pictures, statuary and furniture has been bought by the Rajah of Burdwan, but the house and grounds have been bought by the sons of the late illustrious proprietor for the sum of fifty-five thousand rupees. The sum for which the whole of the property and outfit was sold was nearly a lac and fifty thousand."

The sons of Dwarkanath Tagore subsequently sold it to the Paikpara Raj family: and it was the scene of the entertainment given to King Edward the Seventh by the Bengali community in the winter of 1875.

THE "Bengal Hurkaru" has been merely a historical memory for the last sixty years: but the disappearance from the newspaper world of Calcutta of its lineal descendant, the "Indian Daily News," cannot be allowed to pass without comment in the columns of *Bengal: Past and Present*. The forerunner of the "Hurkaru" was the "India Gazette and Calcutta Public Advertiser," which was first published in November, 1780, as a rival to Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" by Peter Reed, a salt agent, and Bernard Messinck, an actor sent out in 1776 from London by David Garrick for the Calcutta Theatre (then in Lyons Range): and Hicky frequently alludes to them as "Peter Nimmuck" and "Barnaby Grizzle." A reference to it under its sub-title will be found in "Hartly House" where



it is recorded "for the honour of Calcutta" that the "Calcutta Advertiser" and the "Calcutta Chronicle" (which was started in January 1786 by William Baillie, the artist, and ceased publication in 1794) are "what the English prints formerly were, moral, amusing, and intelligent." It enjoyed a succession of able editors, such as Sir Herbert Compton (once a private soldier in the Company's army, and subsequently Advocate-General at Madras and Calcutta, and Chief Justice at Bombay), Dr. John Grant of the Bengal Medical Establishment (as to whom see Part I of the present volume at p. 80) and the Rev. John Adam, an American Unitarian missionary who was the friend and associate of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. In the financial crash of 1833, Mackintosh and Co., the then proprietors, became insolvent, and the paper was bought by Dwarkanath Tagore, who was already the holder of one-fourth share in the "Bengal Hurkaru." The latter had begun a separate existence in 1785: and the two were amalgamated in 1834, the "India Gazette" becoming the tri-weekly edition of the "Hurkaru." During the Mutiny, the "Hurkaru" achieved the distinction of being suppressed by the Government: and its licence was not restored until an apology had been given. Later on, in the struggle during the sixties between Sir John Peter Grant and the indigo-planters, whose factories then studded Lower Bengal, the "Hurkaru," under the editorship of Captain James Fenwick, took the field against the Lieutenant-Governor, whom it compared to a compound of Gengis, Kublai-Khan, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah. It figured prominently in the famous "Nil Durpan" case: but sailed in smoother waters after its transformation in 1864 into the "Indian Daily News" by James Wilson, one of the greatest of Indian journalists.

THE account given of Peter Moore, "guardian of Thackeray and friend of Sheridan," in *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. XXVI, pp. 180—184 requires correction in one particular. Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., points out that Moore was, in fact, Collector of Rungpore from April 15, 1784, until July 1785: (see Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. III, pp. 149—320): and that William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 164) is so far correct. His opportunities for making in the course of fifteen (not eighteen) months the "overgrown fortune," of which Hickey makes mention, lay, apart from the collections, in a settlement which he was ordered to undertake and in the support which he was instructed to give to the Rani and the infant Rajah of Cooch Behar. A complaint was lodged against him in May, 1785, by "the vackeel of Cuggundernarrain (Khagendra Narayan) the Zemindar of the 9—12 Division of Serkar Behar": and the terms of his reply dated May 29, 1785 (Rungpore Records, Vol. IV, pp. 211, 212) are as "arrogant and insulting" as the language of the letter which he wrote, according to Hickey, to Hastings: although the dates do not correspond. In a letter addressed on August 18, 1785, to Mr. William Kerrill Amherst, officiating Collector of Rungpore, by Saml. Charters, Wm. Cowper, Thos. Graham, and J. Evelyn, members of the Revenue Committee (Rungpore Records: Vol. III, p. 325), surprise is expressed that "Mr. Moore should have omitted to leave

Copies of his public Correspondence in the office, not being able to conceive any Reason for a Conduct so extraordinary and Unprecedented." It is added that Moore had already sailed for Europe. Amherst died at Rungpore on April 20, 1792, at the age of thirty-one, and is buried in the cemetery there.

WITH reference to the article on "Clive and the Strachey Family" in the first part of this volume (pp. 22 to 33) Mr. Jamini Mohan Ghosh, Deputy Magistrate and Collector of Mymensingh, sends us the following note regarding Henry Strachey, the second Baronet, who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1792 to 1805. The "Report of Mr. (now Sir Henry) Strachey on his completion of the second Sessions of 1802 for the several districts of the Calcutta Circuit" is printed as Appendix XI to the famous Fifth Report and is characterized on page 67 as "one of the most able, intelligent and interesting expositions that have appeared on the subject." Two other reports by him are also given: relating to the "Berilly" and "Benaras" Divisions, 1805: and there is an allusion in the former to his approaching departure for Europe "that season." The appendix contains further reports by him as "Judge of Circuit in the Ceded Provinces" (now known as the Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand Divisions), which recount the history of the principal local dacoits and their associates.

OUR readers will remember that in the same article on "Clive and the Strachey Family," some account was given of the three copies of the famous picture of Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match at Lucknow, which are believed to have been painted by Zoffany. One is said to have been destroyed at Lucknow during the Mutiny: the second was once the property of Warren Hastings and is now in the possession of the Marquess of Tweeddale: and the third (which is held by some to be a copy) is at Ashwick Court, the Somerset seat of the descendants of Richard Strachey, to whom it was presented by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. Mention is made in an article published in the *Pioneer* in the autumn of 1920 and reproduced in the *Madras Mail* on November 9 of that year, of yet another picture of the Cock Fight, which was then in the possession of Colonel H. A. Vernon, of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and which was painted towards the end of the eighteenth century for his ancestor, Joseph Cator, who acted as Barwell's private secretary. This picture is not, however, by Zoffany, but is the work of an Indian artist, "Hosnao," who is said to have been originally a syce, and the subject is somewhat different. It is thus described:

A celebrated cock fight, a match between the Nabob of Bengal and the Nabob of Lucknow for Rs. 1 lakh. On the right is the Nabob of Bengal with his Vizier and attendants. On the left the Nabob of Lucknow. In the foreground are a set of nautch girls and musicians and a sepoy. In the background are two figures eagerly watching the match. The two young men in the middle are the brothers of the Nabob of Lucknow.

Asaf-ud-Daula is again the Nabob of Lucknow, and his adversary, the "Nabob of Bengal," is probably Mobarak-ud-Daula, one of the sons and successors of Mir Jafar. The "two brothers of the Nabob of Lucknow" are Saadat Ali, who was afterwards Nawab Vizier, and Miran Jangli. Many of the figures closely resemble those in the Strachey picture, which is believed by experts to be an early replica of the one which Zoffany painted for Asaf-ud-Daula, and which has disappeared. It may be taken as almost certain that "Hosnao" was painting with a copy, if not the original version, of Zoffany's work before him. But in one respect he has improved upon the master. The two fighting cocks are admirably rendered: whereas in the Strachey and Tweeddale pictures they are poorly executed. Mr. Tegetmeier, an authority on poultry, has gone so far as to say that Zoffany's birds are "impossible."

THE Government of Bengal has published two more volumes of the "Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad." The preceding volumes, ten in number, cover the period from September 27, 1770 to May 4, 1772. The originals of the letters between September 2 and October 21, 1771, are, however, missing from the Record-room: and copies have been obtained from the India Office. These form the subject of one of the new volumes (Rs. 4-4-0) which is numbered VIIA. The other volume (Rs. 7), which is the eleventh in the series, contains the correspondence from May 7 to June 25, 1772. The first letter is an instruction from "Yr. honble Serts," Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell, and seven others "of Council at Fort William" to Samuel Middleton "Chief and Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad," to take charge of the office of Dewan, "the Honble the Court of Directors having thought proper to divest Mahomed Reza Cawn of his Station of Naib Duan, and having determin'd to stand forth publicly in the character of Duan." The historical value of this correspondence is unquestionable, and the thanks of all students are due to the Government of Bengal which has made it accessible in so convenient a form.

THE Society has lost another of its Vice-Presidents by the death in Dublin on March 23 last at the age of sixty-two of Sir Walter Buchanan, K.C.I.E., M.D. Up to the time of his retirement in 1919 from the post of Inspector-General of Jails in Bengal (to which he had been appointed in 1902) his interest in the Society and in *Bengal Past and Present* was unfailing. Many contributions from his pen will be found scattered through our pages: among which we may notice in particular the article on "Old Darjeeling" in Vol. II. (1908) pp. 439 to 459, and "In the Footsteps of Hooker through Sikkim and Nepal," in Vol. XIV (1917) pp. 252 to 274. We have also to deplore the death at Patna on May 25 of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C.S.I., an old and valued member of the Society.

















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